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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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LCY JOURNAL NOTES USSR, EAST EUROPE'S CHANGING VIEWS ON NONALIGNMENT

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 12, Dec 81 pp 1987-2002

[Article by Jelica Kurjak: "USSR and Other Countries of the 'Socialist Community' on Nonalignment"]

[Text] I. Some Introductory Remarks

This article, as the title indicates, will examine the attitude of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. It is beyond question that a topic so stated requires a deeper, broader and more all-inclusive analysis than an article of this kind and length can offer. The article, then, will deal with only certain aspects of this problem, and that in turn necessitates certain preliminary explanations:

First, the analysis of the attitude of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" toward nonalignment will be based primarily on Soviet theoretical and political thought. This thought usually coincides with Soviet party and government stands: it represents to the greatest degree a specific statement of Soviet party and government policy as concerns the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. However, often led by the pragmatic interests of a great power, Soviet government policy toward the nonaligned movement sometimes departs from the stands taken in theory.

Second, the paper will analyze above all the positions and assessments of the USSR, since the party and government stands of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment coincide with the positions of the CPSU and Soviet theoretical thought.

Since among the countries of the "socialist community" only the positions of Romania toward the policy of nonalignment and the nonaligned movement differ essentially from those taken by the other members, something more will be said about those views in particular.

11. Factors Which Determine the Attitude of the USSR and the Countries of the "Socialist Community" Toward Nonalignment

The following trend has been evident for many years now in Soviet political theory and in the political attitude of the Soviet Union toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment: the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment are looked upon as a reserve of the "world socialist system," on the one hand, but on the other those principles of the policy of nonalignment which coincide with the strategic interests of the USSR as a great power in international relations are likewise taken up.

The attitude of the USSR and a majority of the countries of the "socialist community" toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment are determined both by domestic and international factors. We will discuss several of the most important ones here.

a) Global Soviet doctrine concerning international relations, affirmed back in the time of the Stalinistic period, with corrections imposed by the everyday policy of the Soviet Union toward the developing countries, is the basis of present Soviet policy toward the nonaligned countries. This doctrine is based on competition between the blocs, on rigid political verdicts against capitalist practice in the underdeveloped part of the world, with pronounced emphasis on the political significance of the help of the socialist camp in liberating the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the imperialist economic yoke.

b) Another factor which influences the attitude of the USSR and a majority of the East European socialist countries toward the policy of nonalignment is certainly the fact that the Soviet Union has created a firm alliance of the countries of the "socialist community" as the basic counterweight to the other side with respect to the lineup of forces in the world.

The "alliance" established in this way makes it necessary to preserve its compactness at all costs and not to allow any forces of adhesion to have a disuniting effect on the group which considers itself the basic instrument in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and progress in the world. In that context the role of the nonaligned countries is most frequently reduced merely to an additional strength of the countries of the "socialist community" in their struggle against imperialism in the world.

c) At the time when the nonaligned movement was taking political shape, the Soviet Union looked upon this phenomenon in international relations as a chimera, a short-lived creation, a group of countries whose principal aim was nonparticipation in the blocs. Over the years, however, the nonaligned movement has become stronger, gaining ever greater relative importance in international relations.

In the light of these factors one can note several tendencies in the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the policy of nonalignment. First is the result of the endeavor to have the issues of the international community resolved in the framework of a confrontation between two socioeconomic, political and military

blocs, which accounts for the Soviet Union's reserved attitude toward countries with a nonaligned foreign policy orientation. The present bloc structure is so constituted as to exclude any third force as a significant factor in international relations, whatever kind of motives and aims it might have.

The second is related to the position that the most important issues of peace and progress can be resolved solely within the framework of the countries making up the "world socialist system," since it does in fact follow from that position, as soon as the possibility is eliminated for there to be any other force representing a peaceful world. That is why the nonaligned movement is reduced to a reserve of the countries of the "world socialist system," and the desire is to subordinate the policy of nonalignment to the foreign political interests of the countries of the "socialist community." That is why the nonaligned countries are acceptable to the USSR only if they can be placed in some economic, ideological or political relationship of a subordinate partner, a junior ally. It is felt, then, that the nonaligned countries are more suitable as individual partners.

The attitude of the USSR toward the developing countries, a majority of which belong to the nonaligned movement, is therefore based on this strategic policy. Theses have indeed appeared along these lines in Soviet theoretical and journalistic articles concerning a division of the developing countries into groupings as a function of the class structure of those societies and of the prospects of their socioeconomic and political transformation. This division, as we shall see, essentially reflects greater or lesser Soviet interest either in particular regions or in individual countries.

On the basis of this division the developing countries have been put in three groups: the first group is made up of countries in which the national bourgeoisie has taken a basically anticolonial stand as the ruling class, but is at the same time standing in the way of the transition to an anticapitalist development strategy. The second group is made up of countries in which, according to Soviet conceptions, the class structure of society has not been clearly differentiated, and the choice of strategy in social development has not yet been clearly defined. In the third group are countries which have committed themselves to what is referred to as a noncapitalist development strategy. According to the Soviet conception, these countries are in the first, democratic phase of social development toward socialism. That is indeed why they are the closest allies of the "world socialist system" and the international working class movement. After all, according to this thesis, countries with a noncapitalistic orientation in social development are opening up encouraging prospects of entering upon the road of the socialist transformation of society in the course of their further struggle and with the abundant aid of the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community." This thesis is based on the position that the noncapitalist strategy is the first stage of transformation in the direction of socialism.

Third, given the division into blocs and the confrontation between them, the Soviet attitude toward the nonaligned countries also expresses the aspiration that the nonaligned countries represent a permanent "second echelon" in the machinery of force with which the Soviet Union exerts pressure on the other

side. It is for that reason that the Soviet Union accepts such principles of the policy of nonalignment as the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, the struggle for peace in the world, the struggle to change existing economic relations of domination, which represent an important weapon of the nonaligned movement in gaining respect from the two great powers. One of the terms used frequently for the nonaligned countries--the "reserve army of socialism," which made its appearance in Soviet political terminology in the early seventies, clearly indicates the character of the Soviet attitude toward nonalignment.

The conclusion can be drawn from these tendencies in the attitude of the USSR toward the nonaligned movement and policy of nonalignment that the Soviet Union has been suspicious toward every idea, initiative and especially autonomous policy independent of its influence that has been conducted by the grouping of nonaligned countries, and it is not very likely that it will cease to be suspicious in the future. In view of the ideological and political nature of the "socialist community" and the principles of relations on which it is based, a majority of the countries of this grouping, with the exception of Romania, have an almost identical attitude toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

III. Evolution of Conceptions

In the period up until the sixties official Soviet political thought did not acknowledge the progressive character of national movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Only the communist parties were recognized as a transmission of the policy of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union toward the colonies and the newly liberated countries. For long years the communist parties were directed toward a politically implacable line vis-a-vis the national and anticolonial forces. This policy, recurrences and traces of which are noticeable even today, put many parties on the fringes of political events in those countries.

Only at the 20th CPSU Congress did a somewhat more flexible attitude toward the struggle of peoples for national liberation begin to be taken. It was stated at that congress that the "forces of peace have been strengthened considerably by the appearance on the world scene of the group of peaceful European and Asian states which have proclaimed nonparticipation in the military blocs as a principle of their foreign policy. The "'extensive peace zone' encompassing states of Europe and Asia--socialist and nonsocialist--and comprising more than half of the population of the world" was created in the world as a consequence.¹ Even though it had been noted that "new forces" had made their appearance on the world scene, it was even in that period that the struggle and aspirations of the newly liberated countries began to be equated with the actions of the socialist countries assembled in the military bloc organization of the Warsaw Pact. Thus actually from the very first steps of creating an independent policy and a more organized activity of the newly liberated countries in international relations Soviet political thought narrowed the nature of the struggle of countries to free themselves of every sort of dependency. It was thus stated even at the 22d CPSU Congress that these countries "often call themselves neutral," but it was stressed that the "newly

liberated countries cannot be neutral on the essential issues of the present time--the issue of war and peace."²

It is beyond question that this initial interpretation of the policy of non-alignment greatly restricts its outlines, since if the policy of nonalignment is reduced solely to the struggle for peace and against war, then it comes down to a less important segment of international relations, to a supplement to those forces which are in essence fighting for peace: and those are the socialist countries. However, it is well known that the social and historic role of the policy of nonalignment and the nonaligned movement is not restricted solely to this set of world problems, but "through its struggle for the independence and equality of peoples in international relations, for their security and peace, for peaceful coexistence among peoples and for their active mutual cooperation on the foundations of equality and equal responsibility, the nonaligned movement has been deeply involved in all domains of international relations."³

The strong anticolonial and anti-imperialist component of the movement in the phase of its coming into being was not in conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union. What is more, it was an element of pressure on the other side, the United States and the West. The ever greater affirmation of the non-aligned movement and the policy of nonalignment in international relations even brought about a greater interest on the part of the USSR in events within this movement. In the late sixties articles were published in which there was discussion of "the progressive bloc of democratic forces in the newly liberated countries" as a "class-oriented vehicle of the transformation for socialism, in which the working class is the principal component."⁴ However, in those countries one could not speak of a working class in the conventional meaning of that term, much less a working class that would figure as the vehicle of socialist social transformations. Soviet political thought had begun even then to associate every qualitative social transformation with the process of its transformation into a socialist revolution, which later it would continue with increasing intensiveness and straightforwardness. The activity of the Soviet Union and CPSU from such position has been aimed more and more toward extending ideological and political influence on the developing countries, which, according to Soviet assessments, have started out on the road of socialist development.

It is along the same lines that one can interpret the view that "the common interests of the world socialist system and the national liberation movements objectively constitutes the basis for close cooperation between the socialist countries and the developing countries. Today the struggle of the world socialist system, the international communist and working class movement, and the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the former colonies or semicolonies have merged to form a single and powerful revolutionary torrent directed against imperialism and toward building a new life."⁵ This view encourages the conclusion that the struggle of all progressive forces is being equated with the vital interests of the countries of the "world socialist system." Very little space is left in that relationship for the independent activity of any ideology, movement or of individual countries in international relations.

Moreover, on the one hand the Soviet Union was preoccupied by its relationship with the other superpower in the mid-sixties, while the movement of the non-aligned was during that period in the phase of clearer definition of its position in international relations. These factors had a significant influence on the attitude of the USSR and the CPSU toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

In the political documents and indeed even in the journalism of the Soviet Union the very term nonalignment was long avoided; documents from the conferences of the nonaligned were not published, and very little was also written about the specific actions of the nonaligned countries and of the movement as a whole.

Insofar as the nonaligned movement has become stronger and its strength has become increasingly influential in the international community, the countries of the socialist camp have shown an ever greater measure of respect, but the essential reserve concerning it has persisted. The highest government leaders of the Soviet Union and of certain countries of the "socialist community" have regularly sent greetings in which they expressed support to the conferences of heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries, but the actual attitude of the countries of the "socialist community" and USSR toward the non-aligned movement and the policy of nonalignment has still remained within the limits of respecting the progressive character of the struggle of the newly liberated countries.

The thesis that the nonaligned countries constitute a "reserve of the world socialist system" made its appearance back at the time of the First Conference of the Nonaligned in 1961. Over the years it has step by step grown into the thesis of the so-called /natural alliance of the nonaligned/ [emphasis in the original] with the countries of the so-called world socialist system.

Beginning in 1971 the constructive role of the nonaligned movement in the world is emphasized in the treaties which the Soviet Union has been concluding with certain nonaligned countries. The Soviet Union's attitude toward non-alignment can be described as more flexible. The following factors have had a bearing on this: first, the number of nonaligned countries has increased considerably, and this has thereby increased their importance and influence on settlement of issues of interest to the international community as a whole. Second, the process of the relaxation of international tension and recognition of the status quo as the point of departure for further development of relations between the blocs. Third, the process of the opening up of the People's Republic of China to the outside world and especially toward the nonaligned countries and toward the United States has revealed its aspirations to take up more favorable positions in international relations. When we bear in mind that PR China began to develop its relations with the nonaligned countries by offering various types of material assistance to the underdeveloped countries, relations which in ideological terms were based on the assertion of identical goals with the Third World, to which China itself belongs, then it is understandable that this should have resulted in a greater interest of the Soviet Union in the developing countries and likewise brought about its more flexible attitude toward the nonaligned countries. Yet views toward the policy of

nonalignment did not undergo essential change in that period except for discussion of a broader range of basic principles on which the policy of nonalignment is based.

Views were also taken in this period whereby support was given to the struggle of the nonaligned countries to establish fairer political and economic relations in the world. That support is most frequently expressed in the following terms: "The present system of international relations cannot be justified as viable if it contains economic inequality, if its essence, as in the past, is still economic pressure. That is why the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and all progressive forces in the world see it as one of their most important tasks in the international field to create and develop new relations in the sphere of economic ties among states with differing social systems. Abolishing the elements of inequality in the domain of international economic relations will eliminate one of the causes of conflicts between states and peoples and will create a structure of the contemporary world which will be distinguished by stability."⁶

The strength of the nonaligned movement and of the policy of nonalignment, its influence on international events and its prestige in the world community are beginning to exert ever greater influence on Soviet views toward nonalignment; even certain actions of the movement, which previously were not spoken about, are being honored. However, the existence of the movement itself is made strictly dependent upon the "existence of the socialist countries which stand against imperialism and restrain it."⁷ In addition, the principal source of the strength of the augmented influence of the young independent countries is explained by the "development of comprehensive relations with the Soviet Union and the 'socialist community' as a whole, which possesses both the economic and military power and is on the side of the national liberation movements of the young states in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism and for social progress."⁸

The phrase "nonaligned movement" was used for the first time at the 25th CPSU Congress, and then only in passing, in a report of the CPSU Central Committee, but not in the introductory section of the report which L. I. Brezhnev read at the congress. Since that congress the views of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment have also contained certain new elements: with ever greater frequency emphasis has been put on the importance of the nonaligned countries in the struggle for peace in the world and for establishment of more equitable economic and political relations. But the anti-imperialist character of the policy of nonalignment is still put foremost, which opens up room for emphasizing the thesis of the need for a unified effort by the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "socialist community" against imperialism.

The Conference of Communist and Worker Parties held in 1976 in Berlin had a significant impact on the views of the CPSU and the USSR.

The European Conference of Communist and Worker Parties assessed the non-aligned movement favorably. The final document of that conference states: "The movement of nonaligned states in which a majority of the developing

countries are taking part is today one of the most important factors in world politics. It is making an active contribution to the struggle for peace, security, relaxation of tension and equal cooperation, for creation of an equitable system of international political and economic relations, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation."⁹

L. I. Brezhnev in fact cited almost the same elements of the policy of non-alignment contained in the final document of the Berlin conference in his speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in October 1976. However, remnants of the old assessments of the nonaligned movement from the camp-oriented viewpoint are still noticeable, especially in the platform offered on development of relations and cooperation of the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community" with the countries of the nonaligned movement as well as in the view toward the goals which that movement advocates. Greater emphasis than in the past is put on the need for unity of the developing countries and the progressive forces of the nonaligned movement with the "world socialist system" in the struggle against imperialism and for peace in the world.

The need for a joint offensive of the nonaligned countries with the "socialist community" in the struggle against imperialism has been emphasized ever more frequently and straightforwardly since the 25th CPSU Congress, which marked the beginning of development of the thesis of the "natural alliance" of the "socialist community" and the nonaligned countries.

The ever longer chain of nonaligned countries is supposed to comprise the political and material foundation of the "natural alliance." The needs of a number of nonaligned countries to consolidate newly won independence, pressures from the United States or the former colonial powers, and the danger of aggression and destabilization have directed some of these countries to seek military aid and material and political support from the Soviet Union. Participating in building up armed forces in a number of nonaligned countries through deliveries of military supplies, by training military personnel and by sending in military experts, the Soviet Union has endeavored to make its presence in those nonaligned countries permanent through the involvement of all government-party and bloc structures.

Disputes between certain nonaligned countries, the emergence of hegemonistic ambitions and territorial aspirations of certain nonaligned countries toward their neighbors also opened up more room for the activity of the great powers. It is therefore stressed that "the joining of Cuba and later of such countries as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, North Korea, the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique, which earned particular credit in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism has had a particular importance in bringing the nonaligned countries closer to the 'socialist community'" as well as in "strengthening the authority and constructive tendencies in the movement."¹⁰ The common "struggle against imperialism, colonialism and aggression" is still emphasized as the firmest link of this "natural alliance."¹¹ In that way the essence of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment is still reduced to its anti-imperialist orientation. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of this conception of the nonaligned movement to the effect that "cooperation

between the Soviet Union and a majority of the nonaligned countries has been furthered by their identical or similar views concerning a number of international problems." According to this conception, this follows from the "fact that the nonaligned movement emerged thanks to the existence and strengthening of the world socialist system and that it is guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence. This places it in the closest natural relationship with the socialist countries."¹²

In the Soviet opinion, the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "world socialist system" have identical views on the following issues: "disarmament, enhancement of the policy of relaxation of tension in the world, which would then be followed by a military relaxation of tension, and also concerning the struggle to abolish the remnants of colonialistic and imperialistic rule aimed at ensuring respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence and redistribution of international economic relations."¹³

This attitude toward nonalignment is based on the well known Soviet view that "for socialist countries there can be no nonalignment in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world," and that between socialist states "the principles of nonalignment do not apply, but rather they are bound by the principles of socialist internationalism, which regulate relations among socialist states."¹⁴

Soviet publications and the press of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," proceeding from the principles on which relations between socialist and nonaligned countries should be based, have expressed a "fear" since the 1979 meeting of the nonaligned in Havana of an alleged "departure of the nonaligned movement from its basic principles: the struggle against the blocs."¹⁵ It was stated at that time that "some third party" is attempting to "distance the movement from its primary role--protection of the majority, and that its policy is undergoing reorientation so that it is not directed against imperialism, but toward movement away from the world of socialism and the world of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Since there are supposedly such tendencies in the movement, and especially because they are urged by some third party, it was emphasized after Havana that "the anti-imperialist platform devised in Havana, which suits the long-term interests of the nonaligned countries, is an important factor in the movement's real resolution."¹⁶ "The opponents of nonalignment," it is most often stressed, "attempted in Havana to break up the movement, but they were condemned to failure." Why? According to this conception, the opponents of nonalignment "lost sight of the fact that in spite of the policy of imperialism and certain disagreements that exist between participants in the nonaligned movement, they are all part of a movement which is not stagnating, but is gaining in strength and size all the time. The point is that the nonaligned movement is the movement against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. The conference in Havana once again confirmed this very eloquently."¹⁷

Assessing the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment in this way, Soviet thought is endeavoring to reduce the essence and aims of the policy of

nonalignment and the nonaligned movement to the essence and goals of its own strategy in international relations, especially as concerns the other great power.

A majority of the countries of the "socialist community" have taken almost identical stands concerning the role, character and prospects of the non-aligned movement and the policy of nonalignment since the Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana. It is most often stressed that the conference in Havana was an "important new stage in the struggle to strengthen the movement's guiding principle--repulsion of imperialist attempts and unity of the movement's goals with the struggle of the countries of the socialist community, their natural ally."¹⁸

At the same time the constructive role of the nonaligned movement, its importance in the struggle for relaxation of international tension and for disarmament, as well as for establishment of fairer economic and political relations in the world is emphasized with increasing frequency in Soviet publications and speeches by the top party and government leaders. This position might lead one to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is willing to honor a broader range of original principles of the policy of nonalignment and also problems, demands and goals of the movement as a whole. However, the essence of these statements and writings is usually a function of global Soviet strategy concerning the attitude toward the developing countries, a function of the political, economic, ideological and military rapprochement and inclusion of those countries in the general front of the struggle of the countries of the "world socialist system" against imperialism. Aside from emphasizing the constructive role of the nonaligned movement in the world, then, "joint action with the countries of the socialist community on behalf of peace" is always put in the first place.¹⁹

Criticism of the conception of so-called equal distance from the military and political blocs followed in fact from the thesis of the necessity of joint action by the nonaligned countries with the countries of the "socialist community." The criticism of this conception emphasizes that "the West wants to deprive this movement (the nonaligned movement--J. K.) first of all of its anti-imperialist cutting edge and ... to bring it into conflict with the socialist countries. That is why the imperialists and the Maoists support or inject into the movement the conception of 'equal distance' from the imperialist and socialist countries. This conception is based on the simplest logic of one who has committed a crime: what I don't steal, someone else will."²⁰

Following the assessment that the theory of "equal distance" is upheld by "those who supposedly want to preserve the purity of the nonaligned movement" and to distance "the friendly socialist countries from the movement," it is emphasized that the "conception of 'equidistance' is malicious because it is based on false and artificial interpretations instead of on an objective scientific analysis of the lineup of forces in the world."²¹ The purpose here is essentially to emphasize that the nonaligned must maintain an awareness of who their friends are and who their enemies are. Along these lines it is emphasized that "reducing world politics to rivalry" between the "great powers" in a struggle for spheres of influence means closing one's eyes to the struggle

between the two opposed social systems. "Since the world is divided into two hostile camps," there "should be no dilemma with respect to the choice of allies" for the countries of the nonaligned movement, according to that conception. After all, the "theory of 'equidistance,' which sets the nonaligned countries in opposition to the socialist world, actually leaves them to confront imperialism alone, deprives them of the firm point of support offered them by the solidarity of the other anti-imperialist forces. Many nonaligned countries have a different approach to this problem."²² There is no doubt that such criticism is indirectly addressed to those forces in the nonaligned movement which are advocating that the movement develop in the future on its original principles.

On the eve of the conference of ministers of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, assessments appeared in the Soviet daily press about how "the imperialists are attempting to accomplish a revision of the anti-imperialist orientation of the movement," that "someone is imposing" all sorts of conceptions on the nonaligned countries: concerning equal distance from the blocs and "counteraction of bloc policy," and that "what is more, someone is attempting to impart to the movement an antisocialist and anti-Soviet character."²³ In the context of the marked fear that the movement is allegedly turning from its positions, criticism has also been expressed concerning the movement's behavior. It has been stated in this sense that the movement is concerning itself with "cardinal," but not "specific issues." The reference in specific terms is to the following: "recently attempts have been made to impose the so-called Afghanistan question on the nonaligned movement. Nor have attempts been abandoned to reassess the decisions of the conference in Havana."²⁴ At the basis of these most recent Soviet views is the essence of their attitude toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment: the movement, as is often emphasized, is an important factor in international relations and a progressive force in the world, and therefore its acceptability as a partner in joint action increases directly with its distance from the forces of imperialism and its closeness to its "friends," the forces of the "world socialist system." It was along these lines that L. I. Brezhnev spoke about nonalignment in his report at the 26th CPSU Congress on 23 February 1981. He emphasized that the nonaligned movement is an "important factor in international relations" and that the strength of the movement lies in its "orientation against imperialism, colonialism, war and aggression." In the official view of the CPSU, "the key to a further strengthening of the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics lies in its devotion to its own fundamental principles."²⁵ Most probably the reference is to those principles of the policy of nonalignment which, as seen by the CPSU and a majority of the parties of the countries of the "socialist community," constitute the foundation of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment.

By contrast with Soviet views concerning the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment and also the views of a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," the Communist Party of Romania has taken a basically different attitude toward nonalignment.

Romania has always emphasized the historic role of the nonaligned movement in the struggle for the liberation of peoples from domination of all kinds, in

the struggle for peace in the world, "for strong affirmation of the principles of complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs, renunciation of force and threat of force, as well as for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation."²⁶ This attitude toward a nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment has been especially emphasized since Romania began to attend conferences of the nonaligned as an observer (the 1975 meeting of ministers of the nonaligned countries in Lima). Romania accepts the original principles of the nonaligned movement as the principles on which fairer economic and political relations can be established in the present-day world.

Conceiving the nonaligned movement as an alternative in development of the contemporary world, Romania often emphasizes that attempts at intervention and subjugation of the nonaligned countries are unacceptable. At the same time it emphasizes that dangers to the movement itself and to the policy of nonalignment are also originating from within the movement itself, but that it has the strength and ability to overcome them on its own. Along those lines the first secretary of the Communist Party of Romania emphasizes that Romania "feels that in present international conditions everything needs to be done to preserve and strengthen the unity of the movement of nonaligned countries so that the activity of that movement, the activity of the states within it, is directed precisely toward relaxation of tension, toward cooperation and peace, toward elimination of force and the threat of force from international life. Perhaps more than in the past the movement of nonaligned countries should put emphasis on strengthening and consolidating the nonalignment of states."²⁷ That is why the representative of the Communist Party of Romania advocated the principles of "equality, sovereignty, and nonintervention in the internal affairs of others" at the Conference of Communist and Worker Parties and National Liberation Movements held in October 1980 in Berlin.

One of the most important questions of the contemporary world whose resolution is in the vital interest of the nonaligned countries is establishment of more equitable economic relations in the world. The pragmatism of Soviet ideological and political goals is especially manifested in connection with this question--establishment of the new international economic order. The historic inevitability of establishing equal economic relations has in the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community" long been a secondary area of interest and activity. The reasons for this position should be sought in the fact of the economic equality of the capitalist world and the socialist world, which is unacceptable for the Soviet Union. Within the context of this view it is most often emphasized that the USSR and the other socialist countries cannot bear responsibility for the plundering of the developing countries by the former colonizers and the present neocolonizers. This attitude is based on the Soviet view toward the developing countries and nonalignment. That is, if the basis of relations is contained in the view that the nonaligned countries do not have "tried and true" friends in the countries of the "world socialist system," then, according to their conception, it is natural that the socialist countries cannot be responsible for the poverty of the developing countries. The Soviet criticism of the "conception of 'equal responsibility' of capitalism and socialism for the political and military tension in the world and for the backwardness and present difficulties of the developing

countries" follows in fact from criticism of the conception of "equidistance."²⁸ Since "colonialism does not want to pay the bill, it attempts to lead the developing countries to the idea that all the advanced countries are responsible for their troubles, all the 'rich' nations, including, of course, the socialist countries."²⁹ However, there is obviously a substitution of arguments involved here: after all, responsibility for the causes that led to the present situation in the world is one thing and the historical need and necessity to correct inequality by establishing equal relations between the rich and poor countries is something else.

For reasons that have to do with disagreement with the essence of the demand to establish fair economic relations, the term "new international economic order" has long been put in quotes in the Soviet press. However, when the ideas and initiatives for establishing the new international economic order met with the broadest support of the developing countries and the nonaligned countries, including even a number of the advanced capitalist countries, the Soviet Union's view has been becoming more flexible. This attitude is motivated in large part by the fear that should it negate these initiatives and take a position of rejection, it might let slip the still awaited opportunity for penetration of Soviet influence into certain countries and regions, that is, the interests of the Soviet Union in certain developing countries might be jeopardized. Along those lines there have been texts in which the views were expressed that "the present system of international relations cannot be accepted if it contains economic inequality.... Rejection of the elements of inequality in the domain of international economic relations will eliminate one of the sources of conflicts among states and will create a structure of the contemporary world which will be distinguished by stability."³⁰

The Soviet Union's approach to the new international economic order presupposes above all maintaining and pursuing the basic goals of Soviet policy toward the developing countries. Dominant among those goals is the aspiration of tying certain nonaligned countries and developing countries (which have not committed themselves to a nonaligned foreign policy) closer in economic and political terms to the Soviet Union and the countries of the "socialist community." Ties with the countries of the so-called Third World and actions aimed at ever greater rapprochement with them are usually achieved in three ways: first, by offering support to individual countries in gaining economic independence from the industrial West, which opens up room for penetration of their own interests; second, by offering support to individual developing countries which have gained national independence in their effort to undertake a "noncapitalist strategy" of development; that is, it is anticipated that in this way those countries will come closer to the USSR and the countries of the "socialist community"; third, by the endeavor to guide the flow of social, economic and political events in certain nonaligned countries and developing countries toward the foundations of the "model" of the "world socialist system." The interests of the first country of socialism are recognizable in this view. The basic thesis taken as the point of departure here is that the "peoples of the Third World are becoming more and more aware of the fact that only the socialist countries are sincerely offering aid to their countries."³¹

It is emphasized in that context that the "aid of the socialist community to the developing countries is an expression of the new socialist type of international relations, of the highly developed feeling of international equality and solidarity which distinguishes only the world of socialism."³² We recognize in this view the thesis of the need to establish a "natural alliance" between the nonaligned countries and the countries of the "world socialist system." That is indeed why it is emphasized that the "entire logic of the non-aligned movement leads toward consolidating ties of solidarity with the other forces which represent peace, progress and social justice. Only in that way will the movement be able to retain and strengthen its influence as an authentically constructive and independent factor in world events, contributing to a strengthening of the peace and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, that is, to achievement of the goals for which it was in fact founded."³³

In the context of these attitudes toward the struggle of the nonaligned countries to establish more equitable economic relations in the world we also find views to the effect that "nationalistic views are leading many representatives of the developing countries to advocate the theory of the so-called superpowers. No distinction is made between an imperialist and a socialist state, and they see the principal antagonisms of the world today in the relationship between the backward South and the advanced North, that is, they do not divide the world in class terms, but into 'poor' and 'rich' peoples."³⁴ This attitude toward the need to establish the new economic order gives rise to the thesis that "the movement is being depoliticized" by demands for a fundamental alteration of economic relations in the world and that "an attempt is being made to place an equal sign between all states, including even the Soviet Union and the other advanced socialist countries, with respect to responsibility for the backwardness of the Third World."³⁵

These views impose two basic conclusions: first, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the "socialist community" have taken a reserved attitude toward the need to establish a new international economic order. This attitude arises out of strategic interests in international relations which are based on the policy of expanding ideological, political, economic and military influence on the developing countries; second, the Soviet Union is building a strategy of permanent class struggle against the other side, the imperialist side, on the foundations of the doctrine of the division of the world into two hostile camps. Since it takes the view that only the socialist countries can bear the burden of the struggle with the other side, then it looks with reserve upon any endeavor by any other group of countries whatsoever; and most often it strives to bring that group, including its initiatives as well, into the position of a subordinate partner.

Concluding Considerations

By a combination of diverse pressures and by granting recognition the Soviet Union and the other countries of the "socialist community" have built up an extremely oversimplified and utilitarian approach to the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. The initial basis is the ideological premise that as the forces of socialism grow, and they are equated with the economic

and military strength of the Soviet Union, a majority of the nonaligned countries are on the road toward rapprochement and integration with the bloc structure of the Soviet Union. A country's nonaligned position might be provisionally acceptable for the Soviet Union, but only insofar as it can be pulled away from the protection of the other side, that is, the United States, and placed under its own influence. This attitude is built up on the thesis that the world is divided into "friends, enemies and 'those third parties.'" Since the friends and enemies are well known, the emphasis in Soviet foreign political activity is directed toward "those third parties"--the developing countries. The essence of the attitude toward the developing countries can be expressed in the view that those countries "can achieve their historic goals and preserve the achievements gained through the national liberation revolution only in unity with the countries of the world socialist system."¹⁶

Soviet theoretical and political thought has followed closely the trend of development of the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment, but it continues to emphasize those aspects of the policy of nonalignment which according to Soviet interpretations are relevant to joint action in international relations. After all, the bloc policy of a great power has shifted and is shifting into the background everything which might disrupt the established balance of power, while on the other hand it accepts what is new insofar as it has significance in the confrontation with the other side.

The significant growth of the movement of nonaligned countries and the expression of justified demands for superseding the unfair relations that exist in the world are factors on which Soviet political thought is basing its attitude toward the nonaligned movement. The more the goals of the movement coincide with Soviet goals, the more flexible the attitude of the USSR becomes, and vice versa.

The conclusion can be drawn from what we have said so far that it is realistic to expect that the Soviet Union and a majority of the countries of the "socialist community," depending on the needs of the moment and long-term interests, will be changing their views toward the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment. On one occasion it will put more emphasis on those principles of the policy of nonalignment which, in the constellation of the lineup of forces in the world, point to the need for unity of the countries of the nonaligned movement with the countries of the "world socialist system." Then its attitude toward the movement will be toward an important force in the world, but a force that is not strong enough to act on its own. On another occasion it will deny the historic role of the policy of nonalignment, offering its own help to the movement. Whenever the nonaligned movement and the policy of nonalignment have been in the phase of proposing and adopting decisions important to the world community as a whole, and when those decisions were not in the interest of the Soviet Union and its allies in the same camp, the USSR and the other countries of the "socialist community" have acted toward the movement from far firmer positions--offering it pressure and calling it aid.

FOOTNOTES

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2. "XXII s"yezd KPSS, Materialy" [Proceedings of the 22d CPSU Congress], Vol I, Politizdat, Moscow, 1961, p 37.
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11. "Prospects of the Nonaligned and the Blind Alley of 'Equidistance,'" NOVOYE VREMYA, 30 July 1979, taken from the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 9 August 1979.
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15. A. Maslenikov, "On an Anti-Imperialist Basis," PRAVDA, 4 October 1979, p 4.
16. Ibid.
17. Vasiliiy Kudravtsev, "An Imperative of Our Time," IZVESTIYA, 12 September 1979, p 3.

18. "The 'Homeland Front' on Nonalignment," TANJUG, 27 September 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 27 October 1979, p 35.
19. Speech delivered by B. N. Ponomarev at the International Conference entitled "The Present-Day Struggle of the Working Class Movement and the National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress," PRAVDA, 21 October 1980, p 4.
20. Emil Polak, "On the Eve of the Sixth Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana," NOVO SLOVO, Bratislava, 16 August 1979, p 3.
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23. "Twenty Years of Nonalignment," PRAVDA, 8 December 1981, p 4.
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26. "On the Eve of the Conference of the Nonaligned in Havana," SKANTEA, 25 August 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 20 September 1979, p 37.
27. Interview with N. Ceausescu by NIN, 1 April 1979, p 24.
28. "Prospects of the Nonaligned ...," op. cit., p 35.
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33. Ibid., p 43.
34. "The 'Homeland Front' ...," TANJUG, 27 August 1979, according to the bulletin SVET NESVRSTANIH, 20 September 1979, p 41.
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7045

CSO: 2800/299

BULGARIA

SOFIA PAPER CRITICIZES QUALITY OF MEDICAL SERVICES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 82, p 1

[Editorial: "Selfless Labor for the Health of the People"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party has always devoted special attention and care to the health and well-being of our people. The issue of health has occupied and still occupies a central place in its social policy. As a result of thorough socio-economic reforms and of achievements along the lines of the Soviet health care system, a number of successes have been attained in the free curative-prophylactic area. The average life expectancy is growing longer, infant mortality has reached its lowest level in our country thus far, significant indicators are being improved, illustrating the high viability of the workers. On the front line--in the struggle for the health and life of the people--stood the medical workers with high qualifications and a new socialist consciousness of duty and honor.

Parallel with the health network, there was a considerable expansion in the leading role of the Medical Academy, the scientific staff of the Ministry of Health in devising and spreading the new methods of preventive medicine, diagnosis and healing, of new and effective approaches in solving today's problems of maintaining health. This confirms once again the correctness of the party's decisions on integration in the medical sector.

In carrying out the tasks set by the 12th Congress of the BCP for intensive development of the country on the basis of fostering the achievements of scientific-technical progress and the most advanced in universal experience, the possibilities have been increased for diagnosing and curing through the introduction of the most modern apparatus (heart stimulators, automatic laboratory analyzers, ultrasonic equipment, tomographs and others). With the active help of the Medical Academy, hemodialysis centers ("artificial kidney") were opened in each okrug--30 in all. In this way our country is becoming one of the few in the world to be equipped with this apparatus, which is so expensive yet important as a life saver. In our country, everyone who needs it can benefit from it.

The achievements are incontestable, but it must be stressed that there is an ever-growing gap between the possibilities of our health services and the

results achieved.... "The level of the medical service remains far from the needs of the population," said Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech of 7 December 1981. That can be explained by lagging behind in basics and other factors which do not depend on the cadres who work in this area. But we must say that in the medical service there exist serious subjective reasons for the emergence of these contradictions. The state of the district team and the organization of the work in the polyclinics is not satisfactory. Each year in our country millions of prophylactic examinations are carried out, but here too, an increasing number of organizational weaknesses is apparent. Primarily, again for subjective reasons, a lot of public time is wasted by individuals in receiving prompt dental care. The potential of dental laboratories is smaller than the number of orders they get and, in some cases, their potential is not used the fullest, causing the preparation of dentures to take a great deal longer. There are also weaknesses in the tending of the sick and the cultural level of life in some hospitals. One can still find hospital directors who are lagging behind in developing measures for two-stage care of the sick. Yet such measures are one of the ways to overcome these weaknesses. Because of poor forecasting and planning for medications and sanitary materials, as well as the lack of sufficient effectiveness in the management of reserve stocks, etc, there are still cases in which citizens are refused medications.

Thus it is the primary task of all communists, members of trade unions, komсомол members and all workers in health or social care institutions to stand implacably against weakness, insufficiencies, and those responsible for them: the task is to achieve a complete mobilization of the subjective factors in the medical service. Through rapid application of the leading scientific-technical achievements and by improving socialist organization of labor, universal intensification and optimalization of preserving health must be achieved in our country. The party committees and primary party organizations in accordance with the goals set by the 12th Congress of the BCP and the October Conference (of 1981), must insure on the spot competent and effective leadership for a decisive improvement of the style and method of work. In this respect it is essential to apply the economic approach in matters of health. The experience of the Medical Academy of the Stara Zagora and Plovdiv okrugs shows that it yields positive results in health care operations. Therefore three problems must be at the center of party work: intensification and optimalization in medical services, i.e., achievement of the maximal effect in the struggle for health and longevity; a sharp increase in the intellectualization of health matters and replication of the experience of the Medical Academy of the Stara Zagora and Plovdiv okrugs in applying the economic approach.

The efforts of medical teams must now be directed toward the fullest mobilization of medical workers to make a decisive breakthrough in the quality of services by improving professional training and work discipline of the cadres, through intensification of the control exercised, discovering of new reserves for work and introduction of a strict regime of economizing. The participation of the population and of economic and social organs

and organizations is of great significance in solving the problems of health care which must be a real concern of the entire people and of each citizen.

There is no doubt that our medical workers who have shown more than once their selflessness and high awareness of duty and responsibility have sufficient strength to accomplish successfully the very responsible tasks set by the party and the people.

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RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON WALESA, OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Helsinki SUOMEN KIVALEHTI in Finnish 29 Jan 82 pp 34-57

[Excerpts from an interview given to the editors of the West German weekly STERN by acting Prime Minister of Poland, Mieczyslaw Rakowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] "We have become the beggars of Europe. We will once again have to start at point zero. The reform policy will simply have to continue. There is no return to the time before August 1980," says acting prime minister of Poland, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, in this special interview, that was given to the editors of the West German weekly, STERN, the first Western publication to interview Rakowski after the declaration of martial law. Following are some excerpts from the outspoken STERN interview.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, during your quick visit to West Germany you have said that the declaration of martial law was entirely Poland's own solution. It will in the same way be entirely Poland's own decision to end martial law. When do you think this will take place?

[Answer] There is no doubt that I will stand by what I have said. I am consequently very surprised that the West stubbornly holds on to the suggestion that martial law was imposed because of pressure from Moscow.

[Question] There is indeed a difference in opinion about what has been done: Did it happen as the Americans say, 'on orders from Moscow' or is there not some basic reason for the declaration of martial law was a hidden serious threat from the Soviet Union?

[Answer] There was no such threat from Moscow. But international power relations certainly do exist. And the fact that Poland belongs to the socialist bloc is as obvious as the FRG is one of the Western allies. Is it then so strange that the situation in Poland in the beginning of December caused concern in the Soviet Union and critical reactions in the socialist bloc. Your view that the Soviet Union is continually exerting pressure on us ignores the fact that 50 years have gone by. The dogmatic ideas have been footed in the West for a longer time than in our country. In any case the Soviet Union has determined that all the changes that have taken place in Poland since August 1980 are internal matters of Poland.

[Question] Moscow is, however, not especially well known for accepting changes in the system in its allied countries. Think for example of Hungary, the GDR or Czechoslovakia. PRAVDA has written that one cannot even think of autonomous trade union movements in a socialist country. Despite everything such a movement has developed in Poland.

[Answer] You should differentiate between a change in the system and structural reforms of the system. Moscow has never criticized us for accepting an autonomous trade union. Moscow began to get concerned, just as we did ourselves, when this trade union began to develop into a political party which, in December, quite obviously began to resist our socialist system.

Solidarity started out as an autonomous trade union movement in order to represent the workers' rights. It then developed into a social movement and finally into a political movement, which quite openly had on its agenda to take over the government.

"The Decision To Impose Martial Law Was Sudden and Tragic."

[Question] The imposition of martial law, which took place in one blow on 13 December, and the successful crackdown on Solidarity indicate that the Polish Government had planned the military coup for a long time. Were the arrest lists also printed in advance?

[Answer] That is not true. At the end of October the efforts to unify the country were still dominant as was the belief that the government, the church and Solidarity would reach an understanding. This turned out to be so much hot air. Then came the meeting of 4 October, the discussion between General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Glemp and Lech Walesa. This discussion led us to believe that the turmoil was over and that a new phase of discussions had opened up. But at the time when Walesa left Danzig in order to meet Archbishop Glemp and General Jaruzelski in Warsaw, the speakers' council in Danzig had already decided that the discussions with the government were useless.

[Question] At that point was Lech Walesa still master of the situation?

Rakowski: Well, he took part in the discussions, then returned to Danzig and there set himself up to oppose the decision made by the Solidarity speakers' council. Voting took place. Walesa's side got only 55 percent of the delegates' votes. And then the anarchistic elements of Solidarity finally entered the fight for power.

[Question] And you began to prepare martial law?

[Answer] No. Do you think that we did not have enough imagination to understand what violence means? That we would not see that imposition of martial law is a most dramatic decision. Tragic. I would like to ask you how on 12 December, when things were becoming chaotic and a general strike had already been called, we could have ended the chaos in any other way?

"We Rescued Poland and Europe"

[Question] This so-called spontaneous declaration of war on 13 December as well as the separation of Solidarity that took place almost without a hitch do not exactly give the impression that the decision was made at the last minute?

[Answer] Do you think that we are politically very naive? First of all we never made a declaration of war, but of a state of war, because Polish constitutional law, like that in your country, does not recognize a "state of emergency." And everyone who tries to understand politics ought to know that every country is prepared for such exceptional conditions. This applies to you, too, or why would you have a constitutional law or the criminal police of the Federal Republic? Do you think that they would just sit around and roll their eyes in troubled times?

[Question] Have Polish uniforms been expressed to the Soviet Union and have Soviet soldiers wearing Polish uniforms participated in military actions?

[Answer] No, unambiguously no. That is an idea brought up by General Dubick, who retired several years ago and moved to the West. He himself is a former officer of the Red Army, by the way. He was far away from the window, so you could not call him an eyewitness. God knows that the state of war, the prices that we have paid to save Poland, was no small matter. For you it means the rescue of Europe. For do you know what would have been the consequence of a catastrophe in Poland? When developments come to such a boiling point, they can no longer be controlled. There would in the end have been a situation in which any crazy person could have shot patrolling military or police.

[Question] ...Or some provocator?

[Answer] In theory everything is possible.

"You Do Have a Fixed Idea"

[Question] What will happen next? The Soviet Union welcomed the declaration of state of war with satisfaction. Is Moscow now expecting that the situation in Poland will be arranged in accordance with Soviet Union model?

[Answer] I am beginning to believe that you do have a fixed idea. You--now we--are staring at the Soviet Union full of fear, like a rabbit staring at a snake. We do indeed have much better relations with the Soviet Government and in no way do we have the impression that the Soviet Union is interested in anything else but the strength and sovereignty of the Polish nation within the socialist bloc.

Naturally, the Soviet Union has followed some of the developing tendencies in Poland with concern. But the Soviet Union has never said "NO" to the economic reforms that we have planned, to the autonomous rights of workers, to pluralism, to our collaboration with the church nor to the extension of

civil rights in Poland. And we do not now focus on how far the limits on Poland's sovereignty extend, but, above all, on how we can get the Polish economy back on its feet. The key to all the reforms in Poland is namely that the economic life is functioning. We are simply forced into all these reforms.

[Question] And you believe that the Soviet Union is so unworried that you can carry out reforms that involve economic and pluralistic features?

[Answer] Listen, in the past few years we have shown the Soviet Union and the rest of Europe only backward movement. We have become the beggars of Europe. And I do not believe you would ask the Soviet Union questions like the ones you ask me. Poland's geopolitical position is a fact. If we intend to get the Polish economy in order, we will need at least 5 years for that; 5 years during which we will have to work like slaves in order to even get where we were before.

[Question] Will this be done under the military regime?

[Answer] The concept of "military regime" is not correct.

How Will the People Be Included?

[Question] How will the people be included?

[Answer] That will under no circumstances take place by means of the junta. There is no classic military regime in Poland. The Sejm, our parliament, is functioning. Our government is now even more competent than before and it is a civil government. I am no soldier; I am only a captain in the reserves.

[Question] And at the same time substituting as the acting prime minister?

[Answer] Acting as a full time prime minister.

[Question] What is then the task of the military council?

[Answer] The military council is the guarantee that the necessary social and economic changes can be carried out. The reforms will be carried out through the civil government and its organs.

[Question] To put it in a simple capitalist way: the government is the leadership and the military council the accountants.

[Answer] By all means, you can call them that, if you like to.

[Question] But where would the production ladder be? With whom do you work?

[Answer] The people who simply do not want to cooperate are for the time being kept out of positions. But as before, the workers are our partners. And together with them we are again systematically striving for the rights and the necessary changes that were gained after August 1980. There is no

return to the situation before August 1980. But it is still necessary for many new ideas to materialize.

What Kind of a Man Is Walesa?

[Question] Is Walesa any longer a negotiator for the Polish Government?

[Answer] I would not present the matter in such final terms. But I myself am completely sure that Walesa without his advisers is of not much importance. And his advisers have, by far, not always been of the best. Lech Walesa--he is for you mainly a symbol, for some others he is a myth, for me he is a person, whom events first lifted him up above other people and then went ahead of him.

[Question] Mr Rakowski, and now not speaking as a writer, but as simply as possible, can you describe Lech Walesa--and indeed you have been very much in contact with him. What kind of a man is Lech Walesa?"

[Answer] He is an honest man, with sane common sense and undoubtedly some good, oftentimes even amusing colleagues. He is no doubt a man with a charisma to which people react. One can, however, say of him that he easily loses touch with reality; he is more of a romantic than a politician. Poland has a primitive painter named Nikifor. I have often thought that Walesa is the Nikifor of Polish politics.

[Question] But have you ever had the impression that it is easier for the Polish people to understand Walesa's primitive pictures than the party's gigantic paintings?

[Answer] No. In many cases, Walesa expresses himself in a way that is closer to the masses than the way in which the politicians in my party express themselves. But the name of the problem is not Walesa. Walesa is clearly a man with good intentions and he is also a great popular speaker, but it is difficult for him to find any clear and constructive answers when important political problems are involved. Without his advisers Walesa is no great leader of the workers, as he is seen to be by the West.

[Question] But it still was the Polish workers who lifted Walesa up on their shoulders?

[Answer] You know what? History will describe this movement in detail, and also the true story about the strikes in the Lenin shipyard in Danzig. There are 14,000 workers in the Lenin shipyard. The workers who lifted Walesa up on their shoulders did not represent all the workers of the Lenin shipyard. However, and in this case I do not want to underestimate, these strikes were a spontaneous movement. Poland was truly ready for reforms. And the anarchistic elements are to blame that the great opportunity for such a reform of the Polish system was lost in the beginning and that we have to start over again from point zero.

"There Will Be No Consequences for Those Who return the Partybook"

[Question] Is it true that thousands of people have returned their partybook since 13 December?

[Answer] I have heard rumors about a coffin full of torn up partybooks. The coffin was placed somewhere on display. There are naturally deserters. Yesterday, Nova Huta's party secretary announced that 79 out of their more than 8,000 party members had returned their partybooks. That is insignificant. But personal settlements of account have certainly also taken place. Young fellows wearing T-shirts with "I Am an Antisocialist Element." written on them have terrorized entire miners' unions and humiliated their leaders. Such a leader now naturally shows who has power. We all know that. And our military commissaries are trying to put an end to it. General Jaruzelski has often spoken about this matter to the masses. Whatever wrong does indeed take place, we regret and try to make up for it.

[Question] What personal consequences are there for a member who returns his partybook.

[Answer] There should be no consequences, but it is natural that something might happen. In such cases we intend to interfere, because we need all the Polish people, not only the party members. Our men want to turn Poland into anything but a dictatorship. You can hardly find a country that loves freedom more than Poland. But the freedom must not turn into anarchy. The Poles were above anything else inclined to romanticism and to spiritually overestimate themselves: "We can do anything." That is a very explosive mixture. We are also familiar with the Polish proverb: "In one way or another we will get through this."

[Question] Are we going to get through this?

[Answer] The factories are again in operation, the decline in productivity has come to a halt, the increase in dairy products is accelerating. By 13 December meat production had gone down by between 4 and 4 1/2 tons, and 10 days later already by 7 1/2 tons. When the economy stabilized freedom within the country will be returned. There will be no return to the time preceding August 1980, except that those interned will return to their homes as soon as possible and the soldiers will be sent back to their barracks.

9662

CSO: 3107/60

BRIEFS

ZSMP-SDAJ AGREEMENT--Bonn (PAP)--Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], concluded his stay in the FRG by signing a cooperation agreement between the ZSMP and the Organization of Socialist German Working Youth [SDAJ]. Jaskiernia, who went at the invitation of the SDAJ and took part in that organization's congress in Dusseldorf, also held meetings with the leadership of other youth organizations in the FRG, among them the Federal Youth Council [DBJR], the Young Socialists [JUSO], and the Young Democrats [JUDO]. The subject of the talks was the youth situation in the Polish People's Republic and the FRG, as well as prospects for the further development of cooperation between youth organizations from Poland and the Federal Republic. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 82 p 7]

ZSMP, THIRD WORLD COMMITTEE--On 12 March a meeting took place between Eugeniusz Szyr, chairman of the Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the leadership of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. The subject of the meeting was the participation of the ZSMP in the works of the committee. The importance of internationalist upbringing of youth in light of the resolutions of the ZSMP Main Board Presidium was emphasized. It was agreed that the union should attach significant importance to problems of solidarity with peoples struggling for peace and social progress, both in its current activity and in its press and publications. Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 2]

COMMUNIST YOUTH CONGRESS POSTPONEMENT--The Congress Commission and National Presidium of the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] held deliberations in Lodz on 12-13 March. The Congress Commission acknowledged that preparations for the KZMP Constitutional Congress have been terminated. The congress was to have begun on 17 March. However, in connection with the preparations for the IX PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which is to be devoted to youth problems, the Congress Commission has decided to move the KZMP Congress to a later date. [by pl] [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Mar 82 p 2]

CADRES GIVE FALSE DATA TO CONCEAL SHORTFALLS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 58-60

[Unsigned article: "Disinformation - An Act Inadmissible, Incompatible With the Qualities of an Activist, a Communist"]

[Text] Always, when we encounter certain clear achievements and the efforts of those who prove their political and professional responsibility and awareness through their deeds, we show a feeling of consideration and admiration, sensing the need to follow them. But, when, instead of the daily efforts to make today greater and better than yesterday, there is ardent concern so that the statistical reports and other reports showing results will appear as good as possible, even if reality is something else, merely to get undeserved appreciation from the higher authorities, the feeling can be none other than sorrow and condemnation.

Dominated by the thought that plan achievement reports must appear good and not raise any problems, some cadres and some activists feel that, after they "pass the test", they can set things straight and recoup their shortfalls. Actually, such an attitude demobilizes the collective since it renounces the organizational efforts to unite the people's efforts to eliminate the shortfalls. As a result, another test, the one facing one's own conscience, is not passed.

The practice of embellishing reality provokes great damage to the national economy because of the fact that, by not delivering the products initially taken into consideration, perturbations are produced in technical-material supply.

At the same time, by informing that the plan was achieved for all indicators, although some products still have to pass through important stages of the production cycle, some cadres illegally benefit from rights that they do not deserve.

It is understood that such practices, regardless of who uses them, are synonymous with dishonesty and incorrectness, strongly contrasting with the ethical profile of a communist, for whom sincerity and the courage to tell things as they are are defining traits.

Under conditions where fictitious reports are made by party and state cadres, this act is even more serious, with this situation offering negative examples

to their subordinates, who, instead of struggling in order to find the solutions to resolve problems, also resort to this poisonous procedure.

At the Roman Mechanical Enterprise in Neamt County, at the end of September 1981, they falsely reported on 13 vertical lathes, that had not yet been completed, that had "finished-off" a goods production with an extra amount of over 40 million lei. Realizing that these lathes could not be completed by the end of the month, the management at the enterprise decided to resort to this comfortable, saving path so that no one would find out that activities actually were not being appropriately carried out. Not even the party committee secretary opposed such a course of reporting; on the contrary, he supported it and in a practical sense associated with those who had distorted reality.

The removal of the technical director from his job and the sanctioning of eight management cadres along party and administrative lines, including the party committee secretary and the director, are, without a doubt, severe measures that will bring about a change of view regarding the manner in which results are presented.

In the same tone of intransigence, the first secretary of the Roman Municipal Party Committee was also called to task for not checking the accuracy of the reports.

At the Rosiori de Vede furniture section belonging to the Alexandria Furniture Factory in Teleorman County, they reported falsely, with the approval of the factory director and the consent of the section party committee secretary, on the entire goods production for the month of June 1981, worth approximately 2.6 million lei. By virtue of this nonexistent reality, they gave out preferential bonuses to certain persons, including the trade union group organizers, going from one illegality to another.

The results were among the most drastic: the removal of the section party committee secretary, the section chief and the president of the section trade union committee from their jobs.

Sometimes, the tendency to falsify documents and distort reality takes on monstrous proportions, becoming a criminal act. Instead of making efforts to rigorously adhere to the norms of socialist legalities and fighting to convince those around them to follow their example, party and state cadres knowingly abdicate from these rigors. From the false reporting and discounting of certain investment projects worth 243,000 lei, as was done at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Combined Fodder Enterprise in Mehedinti County to the carrying out of certain construction projects without documentation and approved funds, an "initiative" taken by the leadership of Tirgoviste State Agricultural Enterprise on the Moreni farm in Dimbovita County, we have reached the point, as we will see, of modifying certain solutions outlined in projects and changing the destination of certain funds. Thus, the Petrosani Municipal People's Council in Hunedoara County, together with the management of the Mining Combine, established that the

roof of the stands to the new stadium should cover an area larger than the one approved, deciding upon construction not from reinforced concrete, as had been planned, but completely of metal. Without checking the provisions of the draft plan and the degree to which legal conditions are ensured for payment and payment for the additional metal is approved, the former president of the Petrosani Municipal People's Council, Petru Barb, issued a written order to the management at the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment in Petrosani to make and install the roof.

Faced with such an order, the management at the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment, with an understanding with the management of the Valea Jiului Enterprise for the Preparation of Coal and the chief engineer of the Mining Combine, handled it without any reservations, also finding the necessary funds to make it. From the funds set aside for the maintenance and repair of five conveyors, they illegally "filched" a sum first calculated at 3,182,312 lei.

Although they knew full well that carrying out the order was outside the framework of the law, nonetheless, for their part the directors of these enterprises gave orders through the most natural channels to their chief engineers to start production of the metal structures needed for the roof of the new stadium's stands.

These serious violations were favored by the absence of the weakest sign of responsibility in such leadership cadres, who are called upon to ensure adherence to the norms of legality, consistently showing, first of all, their total lack of control, which could have found out in time and then stopped this merry-go-round of illegalities.

The measures adopted to sanction those who were guilty - the removal of the director of the Enterprise for the Preparation of Coal from his job, the removal of the director of the Enterprise for the Repair and Maintenance of Mining Equipment from his job and the sanctioning of other leadership cadres along party and administrative lines - will rightly contribute to the strengthening of responsibility and firmness in respecting the law.

But, since the acts committed fall under criminal jurisdiction, the full restoration of legal rights also requires a severe analysis on the part of state organs.

Working under arbitrary rule and replacing the collective style of work with a personal one and ignoring an active contact and permanent dialogue with the workers, Ion Vlad, the director of the Insula Mare a Brailiei State Agricultural Enterprise, systematically placed himself outside current regulations. Although there are standards and legal norms for carrying out basic agricultural work and establishing densities for grain crops and technical plants, they were not adhered to in all the complexes and sectors. At the direction of I. Vlad,

activities were reorganized into complexes with large areas of land, dis-establishing, purely and simply, the farms - the basic link in agriculture. From 1979 on, he maintained no records regarding the projects upon which an analysis of technical and technological activities could be made.

In such an environment, in December 1979, he turned over to the state fund a quantity of corn 35,000 tons smaller than the amount reported as being harvested in the reports forwarded to the party and state organs. For this gross disinformation, the Department of State Agriculture and the secretariat of the Braila County Party Committee decided to remove I. Vlad, as well as his technical director, from their positions. Later, feeling that he had learned the maximum lessons and in order to give him a chance to prove this fact, I. Vlad was returned to his old position.

Experience has demonstrated, however, that this person learned nothing from what happened, from the time when he continued to resort to the practice of disinformation. A review conducted at the Insula Mare a Brailiei State Agricultural Enterprise also discovered other violations and abuses of the norms of legalities and socialist ethics and equity.

What is essential now is that the measures adopted, that call for the removal of I. Vlad, will continue in other areas, with the party organs and organizations discussing with the communists the acts of incorrectness and dishonesty committed here.

These are several extremely serious limited aspects of dishonesty and falsehoods. They call for the intensification of concerns to promote by all means a high responsibility for the direct application of the norms of the law, honesty and correctness and the development of intransigence towards one's self and others, which must constitute the support of a broad political-educational action and the permanent objective of a firm review, truly becoming an essential ethical criterion in the work and behavior of the leadership cadre, each activist and each communist. Only in this way will the premises be ensured that are necessary for an exacting climate for work in which a militant, revolutionary spirit can be affirmed in finding the materiality of deeds.

8724

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POLITICAL-EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 44-47

[Article by Elena Ene, a secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions: "Priority Requirements of the Political-Educational Measures of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] The trade unions, mass organizations of our working class, are called upon to work, beginning with the new status itself of the workers as the owners, producers and consumers of national wealth, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, so that each worker will understand and master the great duties and responsibilities stemming from this status in expressing the leading role of the working class in society and in achieving the country's economic and social development plans, the sole basis for the continuing improvement of the standard of living and the quality of life. "The trade unions have special responsibilities in the education and creation of the new man, in the development of a worker, revolutionary spirit in all collectives, in the creation of a new, socialist awareness, in the cultivation of a progressive attitude towards work and society and in the development of socialist-type relations between all workers," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions in April 1981. These programmatic guidelines, as well as other requirements of a qualitative nature regarding the activities of the trade unions on the plane of mass political and cultural education, opened new horizons for the concerns in this field. Working more perseveringly and with more exigency and responsibility, the trade unions give importance to the workers' thorough knowledge and understanding of party and state decisions and the country's laws, trying hard to thus contribute more efficiently to increasing their awareness and to their becoming used to politically judging and scientifically interpreting domestic and international events and phenomena.

In our acceptance, with full responsibility, of the critical observations made by the secretary general of the party at the Joint Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development in November 1981, we feel that our activities in this area are still not up to the level of the requirements and that it is necessary to have a more powerful and firmer commitment from the trade unions in the revolutionary, patriotic education of the workers. In permanently pursuing the growth of the efficiency of cultural-

educational work, we must obtain, through all the means that have been initiated, the strengthening of order and discipline, the firm respect for laws and the principles of socialist ethics and equity and the growth of each worker's responsibility for the development of industrial and agricultural material production.

Formative Measures Will Serve, First of All, the Fulfillment of the Principal Objectives in the Economic Field

The new, socialist awareness, with the trade unions also being called upon to contribution to its creation and development, involves both the thorough understanding of what is valuable in the fields of culture and contemporary science and technology and the full mastery of one's profession, and the mastery of the philosophical concept presented by our party regarding the world and society and the formation of a progressive, militant civic attitude.

According to the concept of the permanent education of the workers, as promoted by the party, the trade unions achieve their responsibilities right in the material production process, in close connection with the specific realities of the place of work, where competence, the creative spirit, patriotism, the spirit of order and discipline, self-denial and passion are expressed, with all of these being expressed in the effort to have an exemplary fulfillment of plan tasks. In this view, the trade unions have drawn up and are applying a group of forms and means of action. By using charts, displays, economic calculations, wall and satirical bulletins, "quality display cases," expositions of technical-scientific work and, especially, the actual work from worker to worker and meetings of trade union groups, the trade unions are popularizing how the outstanding workers and production collectives are fulfilling the plan tasks and the results obtained in socialist competition. The means of visual propaganda, the discussions and debates are to serve the promotion and stimulation of the management spirit in the use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, the reduction of production consumption and costs, the spread of valuable worker initiatives and the improvement of economic efficiency. Precisely for this reason, it is necessary for the trade union organs everywhere to eliminate generalities and uniformity from their educational actions and to give a powerful formative substance to their person-to-person work, to the visual propaganda, to the activities of the workers' clubs and cultural centers and to all the forms and methods of mass political work. Beginning with the premise that each economic unit must exist within a complex of production and education, we have the duty to permanently militate so that each worker and each work group will understand the need for improving professional training and the responsibilities for the full, productive use of the time at work and for the protection and development of socialist property and the expression of a firm, combative attitude towards any violation of worker discipline and the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

The mass political-ideological education organized by the trade unions for the workers not covered by party or Union of Communist Youth education and attended this year by over 2.6 million workers has become an ever more efficient for explaining, understanding and thoroughly mastering our party's and state's policies.

This study year, the carrying out of this education under good conditions presents new tasks for the trade unions. The analysis conducted by the executive bureau of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions regarding mass political-ideological education showed a series of positive aspects and interesting experiences, but also a series of shortcomings that must be quickly eliminated. The conclusions of the analysis, accentuated by the critical observations of the party leadership, imposed measures for the improvement of the forms of organizing and conducting this education in a closer connection with the specific tasks of the units and places of work so as to increase its contribution to making the workers aware and mobilizing them to carry out their professional tasks in an exemplary manner and to create a materialist-scientific concept and combat negative manifestations.

The elimination of formalism and speeches on minor and insignificant subjects, as well as sterile discussions about general subjects that have no practical conclusions must be brought to the attention of all activists, especially in units with fluctuating levels of personnel or that were recently created. In order to present speeches and carry out discussions at an appropriate, attractive and convincing level capable of capturing the interest of the audience, the trade union committees and the enterprises' leaderships have initiated, in addition to the monthly training sessions by the propaganda specialists in the centers and units, the organization of certain periodic reports regarding the status of fulfilling the plan and the commitments in socialist competition, the status of discipline, the quality of production, the reduction of specific consumption levels, the use of time at work and production facilities, the achievement of exports and so forth. Similarly, the members of the executive bureaus of the territorial organs of the trade unions and the trade union committees are concerned to a greater degree about the proper organization and carrying out, on the basis of a monthly schedule, courses in the enterprises and institutes and the presentation of certain speeches and certain political reports, and about the leading of discussions.

During this stage, when the Romanian economy and all our activities are directed towards obtaining high efficiency, when the level of technical equipment and work conditions have experienced a remarkable progress in all units and when the workers' access to the advances of science and technology is wide open, political-educational activities must be strongly centered on the development of their economic and technical-scientific knowledge and thinking and on the stimulation of creativity. These requirements mean that the technical departments and courses in the cultural-scientific universities organized by the trade unions must be true centers to stimulate the movement of inventions and innovations and the interest to participate in technical-applied groups in clubs and cultural centers. Unfortunately, the trade union organs in the enterprises are not involved with direct, specific and systematic responsibility in all cases. They do not carefully pursue the operation of these courses and clubs and they do not show the efficiency of them in a convincing manner in order to stimulate an ever broader participation. They do not sufficiently explain the fact that the powerful and modern technical equipment that the

units have require a high degree of professionalism in order to obtain a much higher output and productivity, a higher quality and an improved economic efficiency. These phenomena are also due to the limited, mainly quantitative, superficial and hollow views that lack the ability to bring change of certain cultural activists in the trade union system who pretend that the objectives of their work, the methods practiced and their intervention in the organization of educational measures are minor and insignificant.

Permanent Action for the Promotion of Moral Norms and Norms for Progressive Behavior

The trade unions are integrated into the effort to give all educational-formative activities a rich political-ideological content filled with the principles of socialist humanism, promoting the spirit of right, respect for the truth, honesty, modesty and correctness, comradely relations of trust, mutual esteem and mutual assistance and the combating of expressions that fail to consider the general interests of society. They pursue the more interesting presentation of the results of competition and the decisions of the workers' councils on displays suggestively entitled "Worker Self-Management Decides and Carrys Out" or "Self-Management at the Level of New Quality" and they use the presentation of suggestive calculations regarding what the enterprise loses and what the individual loses when someone misses a day at work for an unauthorized reason. They also use side-by-side displays of well-executed work and negligently produced work. In enterprises and institutes and in workers clubs and cultural centers of the trade unions, they frequently organize speeches on subjects regarding ethics, roundtables, debates, meetings with veteran workers and outstanding workers in competitions, inventors and innovators, cultural events dedicated to meritorious workers and so forth. The discipline commissions, the "outstanding workers council" and the trial commissions carry out a useful activity in legal education and in the education for respecting the norms of behavior at work, in relations between people and in the family and society. A mobilizing example in this direction is the model collective for communist work and life organized in some economic units. There is need, however, and the negative aspects that we encounter confirm this statement, for us to bring about a true turning point, especially in the work style at the level of trade union groups, so that they will constitute the most favorable framework for expressing constructive public opinion against backward manifestations and for educating and creating the workers' moral, political and professional profile. Without forgetting certain achievements, we feel that the trade union group framework is insufficiently used.

In the area of visual propaganda, although there are many positive experiences, there are still serious shortcomings expressed in the absence of a unity of themes in the visual materials on display and in the fact that many of them are not up-to-date and do not reflect the essential subjects in the complex problem of the economic-social development of the country, county, locality or unit.

As was stressed in the party leadership's directives, visual propaganda must be mobilizing, expressive, dynamic and, at the same time, accessible and direct

and it must efficiently serve revolutionary education, the creation of the management spirit and the development of the feeling of brotherhood for all workers, regardless of their nationality. Thus, the trade union organs must contribute more broadly, in a more sustained manner to the achievement of these desires in close connection with other factors and under the direct guidance of the party organizations.

We fully understand the requirement to work so that the trade unions and their entire activity will more efficiently militate for the creation, at the trade union group level, of a climate of reciprocal influence, of improvements in interhuman socialist relations, of attention and care for how each person works, of promoting new things, initiatives and advanced examples, as well as of firmly, promptly rebuffing those who violate our principles of organization, order and discipline, and the socialist laws. In eliminating such deficiencies and other things that we encounter at the place of work, the trade unions are aware that they must make a greater, more efficient and more specific contribution. Actually, this is one of their essential duties as a mass organization of the workers. The spirit of economizing, the respect for order and discipline, the protection of public property and the application of decisions and the provisions of law represent the main content of the activities at the level of the trade union groups and the permanent tasks of the political-educational work carried out by their bureaus. In order to outline and strengthen these responsibilities we do not have to immediately think of finding certain spectacular methods, of certain groomed spaces or of complex materials for cultural practice. The best method, as validated by life, is and remains actual political work and an open, close and sincere dialogue, person-to-person, on those subjects which, unfortunately, are passed over today too easily. Similarly, we have numerous artistic groups, movie clubs and photo circles that have quickly and well mastered the language adequate for their specific mission. Moreover, during the current edition of the "Song of Romania" National Festival these forms have been especially noted, with their educational action being characterized by effectiveness, exactness and direct, acid criticism and by their force of conviction and influence. Precisely for that reason, we have the duty to more consistently promote their creations and to permanently work for the development of their activities in order to mark a significant qualitative and content improvement in this fourth edition of the festival and to transform them into efficient means of educational action.

The achievement of the major objectives of political and cultural-educational work naturally requires, as an essential condition, the stimulation and development of the mass's degree of participation in the acceptance and creation of the cultural act and the establishment and practice of certain inspired and efficient means that will unite the efforts of all workers expressed in the production of the material and spiritual goods needed by Romanian society during this stage. A new human quality, as a major requirement of the stage through which we are passing, is not achieved by itself, but through a continuing, persevering and militant effort. In this context, cultural activity

does not appear as a non-productive consumption or as a non-reimbursable investment, but as a socially useful action that intensifies the production capabilities of the people, contributing both to social development and to the personal development of each individual, and improving the level of awareness and knowledge, through education adopted as a permanent action, it naturally brings about an increase in the results of labor and social wealth.

We feel that these desires and objectives must be served more broadly and more efficiently by the rich material base available to the trade unions, which is also being developed during this five year plan. This base is made up of 45 cultural centers, 208 workers clubs and over 3,143 libraries containing approximately 11 million volumes, modern equipment for cultural practices, instruments, costumes, props and so forth. It offers the trade unions the opportunities and the obligations for organizing certain diverse political-educational and cultural-artistic events in support of production and the workers' pleasant and instructive enjoyment of their free time.

The requirements of the stage through which we are passing make it necessary to eliminate the campaign nature that still dominates cultural-artistic work, to numerically and qualitatively improve events and to broaden the area of involving the masses, as well as the ranks of those who participate in achieving the programs in the cultural centers and clubs, and to attract more people from science, art and culture, engineers, foremen and outstanding workers with whom we can initiate discussions that are significant in their conclusions and lessons, both in order to improve the programs of these institutes and in order to attract certain ever broader categories of workers. In this way, we can demonstrate much more responsibility and respect for the time dedicated to the workers and their families in the activities organized by the cultural centers and workers clubs. All this asks us to express more initiative and consistency and to adopt a modern concept in which the actions initiated for political and professional training will not be just spontaneous, isolated and improvised measures, but a complex system with clear objectives, concentrically oriented in order to respond to the criteria of quality and efficiency in production activities and in order to profoundly and lastingly influence and ensure the ever more active participation of the workers in the achievement of the program for the multilateral development of our socialist society.

8724

CSO: 2700 /217

PARTY MEMBERS ATTACKED FOR SHIRKING DUTY, FALSIFYING DATA

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Feb 82 pp 16-20

[Unsigned article: "Revolutionary Responsibility and Combativeness, Communist Order and Discipline"]

[Text] The direct and complete fulfillment of the great economic and social objectives stemming from the 1982 plan and the entire five year plan and the successful achievement of the complex construction projects standing before our nation of necessity call for ensuring a high spirit of responsibility, order, discipline and organization in the party organs and organizations, in the entire party and in the ranks of all the collectives.

Furthermore, this is the idea that runs like a red line from the first to the last paragraph through the speech by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the plenary session of the Central Committee last November, this programmatic document for the communists and all workers in our country, regardless of their nationality. Each activist in the party and state apparatus, each party member and each worker, regardless of where he works, was given the revolutionary call to analyze with the greatest responsibility his party work, attitude and behavior in production, in social life and in light of the great tasks contained in this speech, realistically and clearly evaluating, in a profoundly critical and self-critical spirit, both his successes, however important they may be, and, especially, the lapses, shortfalls and shortcomings in his activity.

It is known with how much force comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked for the increase in petroleum, coal and electrical energy production to be placed at the top of our concerns. In those counties where there are oil rigs, coal mines and thermal and hydroelectrical power stations, it is necessary to give the greatest attention to the party work in these units, placing before the party active and apparatus their specific tasks for the full achievement of the plan, as well as the best methods that they are to use to this end.

Likewise, in those counties where steel combines or enterprises are operating, the problems of increasing the production of metals must have a priority place on the agenda of all activities, precisely directing the manner in which they must work in order to recover the shortfalls from last year in the shortest time.

It is necessary for the party organs and organizations to daily keep track how the plan is progressing, ensuring an activity so that production will be achieved on a regular basis, each 10-day period and from month to month. Overall, the plans were discussed in the collectives and were rationally proportioned. Furthermore, as the secretary general of the party said, these tasks must be considered minimal tasks, with the party organs and organizations having the job of maintaining such a work atmosphere and of ensuring an organization of work so that more and more new reserves will be permanently discovered and put to use, especially with regards to raw materials and energy sources where the overfulfillment of the plan can be unlimited.

It is necessary to combat with the greatest decisiveness the tendency of some leadership cadre who, instead of finding solutions for the fulfillment of the plan, attempt "to discover" all types of justifications and reasons that will prove, allegedly, that the tasks are too great, asking for exemptions and demobilizing the collectives. The purpose of the party organizations and the aktiv of the city, municipal and county party committees is to steadfastly militate in order to create a state of general mobilization in the ranks of the party members and all workers, with each one seeking, at his place of work, new opportunities to increase the effectiveness of work and production.

Ensuring a fruitful activity of high efficiency is inconceivable with a permanent effort to instill an exemplary order and discipline at all places of work and to directly adhere to the requirements of technological discipline, the standards for operating equipment and the regulations on internal order. It is especially necessary to take all the required measures to more strictly apply the provisions of the Council of State Decree for establishing certain rules regarding the use and maintenance of installations, equipment and machinery and the strengthening of order and discipline at work in those units with continuously burning fires or that have equipment that is very dangerous when being operated, adopting an energetic position against any acts of indiscipline and any expressions that can disturb the normal carrying out of the production process.

To this end, it seems to be an absolute necessity for the party organs and organizations to multiple their efforts to thoroughly understand the economic and social realities in the units, in the localities and by areas of the country, the essential condition for adopting certain substantiated measures and outlining certain directives actually required by life.

Unfortunately, it must be said that there still are party activists and some bureau members, and even secretaries, who do not sufficiently and multilaterally understand life, especially from their personal contacts and their systematic visits to the countryside. An activist with leadership responsibilities must base the conclusions that he draws and the guidance that he gives, first of all, on what he sees with his own eyes and on his own personal findings. Certainly, no one is contesting the role and value of data and reports furnished by other authorities, but what has priority are his own conclusions, with the rest being

good to reinforce some of your convictions. Precisely because the appropriate concern does not exist in all categories of cadre to acquire by themselves a picture of the evolution of work, the review of the implementation of decisions is not everywhere producing the expected results.

How can it otherwise be explained that, last year, at the Miercurea Ciuc Tractor Enterprise certain products were not produce at the established technical parameters because of the nearly complete lack of party review. No party organ can feel that things will go along by themselves. Only through energetic measures for review and guidance can there be a full guarantee that only high quality products will go out through the gates of each enterprise.

During the last year's fall agricultural campaign, in Braila, Constanta, Tulcea, Dolj, Calarasi, Ialomita and other counties some party and state cadre in the agricultural units did not fulfill their entrusted tasks as they should have. Precisely because of this, in Braila County 19 party and state activist were sanctioned, including 9 who were removed from their jobs; in Tulcea County, six agricultural production cooperative presidents were removed from their positions, plus four directors and four chief engineers from state agricultural enterprises, a party organizer and many other leadership cadre in agricultural units were sanctioned; in Constanta County, two state agricultural enterprise directors, an agricultural machinery station director, four agricultural production cooperative presidents, three chief engineers from the unified councils and eight agricultural production cooperative chief engineers were removed from their positions.

It is clear that such violations could occur because there was a lack of a firm and exacting review on the part of these county party committees.

Because of a poor review activity, frequently with great delays or, sometimes, not at all there are discoveries of serious violations of laws, abuses and expressions of disinformation. Some cadre with greater or smaller leadership responsibilities attempt to present, in one form or another, distorted and false views of reality, achievements and their own shortcomings. In some places, especially at the level of the directors and chief engineers of enterprises and, many times, with the knowledge and consent of the secretaries of the party organizations, it has become a practice to "arrange" the production results, either above or below the planned levels, according to the achievements or shortfalls recorded at the end of the month, the quarter or the semester. Such "maneuvers" are made with intent of either covering up shortcomings in the organization of work or the incompetence of certain people or hiding certain "reserves" for more difficult periods that might appear at a later date.

We know of the serious violations committed at the former Oltenia Mining Combine where, over a period of 2 years, there were daily false reports of amounts of coal of 25,000 to 35,000 tons greater than that actually achieved. Certainly, the Central Committee plenary session of November 1981 took severe measures against certain leadership cadre, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that

at Rovinari, Motru and Urdari there are party committees, broad activists and communists who knew about the falsehoods that were being presented. Activists from the county committee went there to conduct a review and they should have immediately noted, taken positions against and unmasked such reprobable acts.

These practices not only give a distorted picture of the real situation, with shortcomings being hidden, but also create an atmosphere in which lies, falsehoods, dishonesty and incorrectness move about at will.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, these kinds of attitudes and these types of deeds are incompatible not only with the qualities of an activist, but also with those of a party member. It is necessary, therefore, to take the most severe measures against such people because they cause very great damage to all of our activities.

The party leadership has decided, at the direction of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to create groups of instructors at the county party committees to review and guide party work in the villages. These groups will have to give priority attention to how the internal affairs of the party organs and organizations are organized and carried out so that these affairs will progress in strict conformity with statutory norms.

Certainly, these groups of instructors will have to work on the basis of certain well-substantiated programs and will be permanently guided in order to especially help those party organizations where there really is a need for meaningful assistance so that shortcomings can be eliminated as quickly as possible.

According to the tasks established by the party leadership, all the local party organs will conduct a broad analysis this quarter into the manner in which control is exercised over the implementation of decisions, putting in discussion all cases of superficiality and recklessness in order to draw the appropriate lessons and take energetic measures for the purpose of carrying out a firm, exacting and principled review everywhere.

Experience shows that it is absolutely necessary for the local party organs to be more closely concerned and to have greater responsibility for the organization, understanding and implementation of decisions and law. In a totally unjustified manner, a series of party organs have abandoned the good system where, immediately after the appearance of a law or the adoption of a decision, they organized discussions, examination and mastery of these laws and decisions and, later, followed up on their fulfillment, regularly listening to reports in connection with the status of achieving measures and quickly and energetically intervening whenever they found tendencies of delay and different irregularities in the execution process.

In this regard, it is expected that the organizational sections of the county party committees will make their presence much more strongly felt. Actually,

they are responsible for the organization of all reviews and, as such, are called upon to keep them firmly in hand so that they will know exactly at any given moment what the status is of each measure, organizing a very well-defined system that will help to understand the progress in the fulfillment of all party and state decisions.

In ensuring the assignment of all forces, on the basis of a judicious program, available to the party organ, of the members of the bureau, the members of the party apparatus and of other activists, the organizational sections are required to pursue who each person fulfills the tasks entrusted to him, while strictly respecting the statutory measure that each activist will report to the collective to which he belongs at least once each month regarding the manner in which he has worked to carry out his responsibilities.

The Central Committee plenary session of November 1981 urgently asked the entire party and state aktiv and all communists to adopt an unyielding attitude under all circumstances regarding shortcomings and failures, no matter how great the overall successes and to energetically reject any expressions of sufficiency or tendencies in certain people to build a quiet and peaceful life by knowingly closing their eyes to the complex problems created by daily life.

The facts show that in the ranks of some activists there is an atmosphere of self-satisfaction and indifference towards shortcomings, with some becoming so accustomed to this that they no longer believe there could be better things in their activities. Instead of adopting an energetic, combative attitude, as is required of an activist, some of them are transformed into a screen for all types of dishonest elements.

The party activist who casually passes over serious shortcomings is lacking combativeness, does not possess the ability to discover violations in a timely manner and, especially, is not in a position to contribute to their elimination and does not exhibit the qualities of a party activist. And, in either case, the party organ must very seriously ask whether such cadre can ensure the fulfillment of the great tasks standing before them.

We are seeing a true plea for the protection of certain abusive, dishonest elements who have purely and simply compromised themselves in the eyes of the people, with their reprobable deeds being willfully minimized. There are situations, like the one in the town of Sprincenata in Olt County, where the secretary of the town party committee, Marin Dindirî, together with the deputy secretary Valentin Vinturîs, falsified the documents of a person newly accepted into the party, putting down not the job that the person actually held - a telephone operator - but that of a cooperatist peasant. Instead of taking the most severe measures against such a gross falsehood, the county party committee bureau sanctioned the secretary with a "vote of censure with a warning", while the deputy received a "reprimand".

Sufficiently frequently we encounter activists who work without any energy and who do not adopt an energetic attitude towards the shortcomings that exist in the field. In addition to this inert position of sliding over shortcomings and of waiting for them to eliminate themselves, we see a damaging attitude of hushing up and discounting these shortcomings and of tolerating violations and different infringements of the laws and ethical standards of our society.

The strengthening of the spirit of responsibility, exigency and combativeness is in a direct relationship with the level of the general assemblies and with their educational efficiency and content. Not long ago, the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, directed that a more pronounced spirit of combativeness and exigency be introduced into the framework of these assemblies. They should not be seen as a club for abstract discussions, but as a supreme organ that makes obligatory decisions and that can call any communist to task, regardless of his position. The party assembly is the most suitable place to seriously discuss such problems as the growth of the leading role of party organizations, the strengthening of each communist's responsibilities and the consolidation of party discipline. In preparing himself for the assembly and in participating in the discussions, the party member closely examines his communist awareness and analyzes himself, constantly bringing out new sources to improve his work in order to be of the most use to the collective and to increase his contribution to the implementation of the tasks of the party organization to which he belongs.

The strengthening of revolutionary responsibility and combativeness and the consolidation of communist order and discipline represent indispensable conditions for the continuing increase in the leading political role of the party organizations in all sectors of social affairs and for their more fruitful and responsible integration and better results in the great patriotic effort of the country to improve itself in the light of certain future and imposing socialist achievements.

8724

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ETHNIC DISSENSIONS IN MONTENEGRIN TOWN DESCRIBED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 207, 30 Jan 82 pp 28-29

[Article by Branko Vukovic: "Assault of the Irredenta in Plav"]

[Text] Today one does not arrive at Plav by a dusty track, but by a broad asphalt road. The bus takes about an hour from Ivograd to Plav.

So we cannot use the usual journalist's crutch to begin this article--that Plav is located "at the end of the world," that "God said good-night long ago" to the people of Plav, and so on. Like it or not, newsmen who come here in the future will have to think up some more original beginning.

We arrived in Plav on Friday, which was market day here. So the peasants began to come into the town from neighboring villages from early morning. There were great crowds in the streets and in the shops. Women were dragging along large baskets and bundles, and the men bags and sacks. It was difficult to find a seat in the coffeehouses.

Ramo Becomes Ram

The population of Plav Opstina is about 20,000. Half are Moslems, 30 percent Montenegrins, and the rest Albanians.

Until recently people lived peacefully and without disturbances here. The Montenegrin and the Albanian not only have been good friends, but by no means enemies. The Albanian and the Moslem likewise. Nevertheless, the events in the spring in Kosovo awakened a fear: that "something bad might happen" in Plav as well.

The fear was understandable. This is an area which lies along the very border with Albania. Many people in Plav have those closest to them living on the other side of the line--parents, brothers and sisters. And then some school-children and university students from here are attending school in Kosovo. Nearly 1,000 inhabitants of this area are employed temporarily in the countries of western Europe. And finally, the pressure of Enver's [Hoxha] propaganda, radio and television particularly, is constant and very intense.

And as a matter of fact the bad omens were borne out, just what the people of Plav did not want--"happened."

The population census gave the first hint. At that time individuals were left overnight without that "ic" at the end of their surnames. Cosovic became Cosaj, Sinanovic Sinanaj, Redzovic Redzaj, and so on. At the same time some of the teachers in the Plav Educational Center entered the "new" surnames of their pupils in the roll books differently from the surnames as stated in the birth records. And a high school teacher who until recently everyone thought was called Ramo, suddenly began to object: "I am not Ramo, but Ram!"

Or an example from the border village Vusanje, whose population is predominantly Albanian. Some 10 days ago ceremonies were held there to open a new school. The American ambassador in Belgrade came in person to cut the blue ribbon. After all, the school was an American gift to the Republic of Montenegro to help overcome the consequences of the destructive earthquake. The powers that be in the republic had decided that the school was to be built in Vusanje. But only 2 or 3 days before the opening ceremonies a hostile slogan made its appearance in the school.

There Had Been Disruption

Demo Uljaj, a painter who recently graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Pristina, lives in that same village. He is now awaiting trial. Propaganda material imported from Albania had been found in his house.

Not long ago a plaque written in Serbo-Croatian was taken away here from the elementary school in Martinovici. The plaque has not been found, and a warrant is out for the culprits. Who could have been bothered by this plaque?

In the school bus which travels between Plav and Vusanje the schoolchildren sing hostile songs "picked up" from the broadcasting of Radio Tirana. The teachers traveling by the same bus--keep silent.

We learned from material prepared for a meeting of the opstina conference of the League of Communists that in Vojno Selo "there had been disruption of a party meeting by individuals not related to this OOSK [primary organization of the League of Communists], but who attend school outside the jurisdiction of our opstina." We inquired about that. Stated in the vernacular, this was an almost incredible act of terrorism and irredentism: three armed young men rushed into the hall and drove the party members away from the meeting!

Now rumors are circulating in Plav that interethnic relations are after all disrupted. Moslems and Montenegrins have supposedly lost confidence in Albanians, since the latter are enemies of our self-management system! This lie also has its "counterweight": "The time will come when Moslems and Montenegrins in Plav will feel the way Albanians are feeling now!"

The following rumor passed off by the irredentists offers the best confirmation that there are no holds barred in propaganda warfare: "There are 1.8 million of us. We will sacrifice 1 million, but the rest will live in freedom!"

This Is Tirana Radio

All of this dirty work of the enemy has, of course, given political people in Plav quite a headache. They do not overestimate the capabilities of the irredentists, but neither do they underestimate them.

We are sitting in the office of Radenko Radevic, secretary of the Plav Opstina Committee of the League of Communists. This 40-year-old lawyer, former presiding judge, works virtually from dawn to dark. He is preparing materials, writing reports, and attending numerous meetings "of the rank and file."

"The purpose of these hostile writings and rumors is the same as in Kosovo," Radevic says. "The nationalists want to disrupt our peaceful development and shatter brotherhood and unity. In addition, the Albanian irredenta is striving in this way to unify its activity throughout all of Yugoslavia."

Radevic emphasizes that the hostile acts and incidents have been strongly condemned throughout Plav, above all by the Albanians themselves. The strictest penalties, both political and administrative, have been implacably demanded for the guilty. It has been stated that no penalty is severe enough for those who sow interethnic enmity.

"Those who displayed hostile behavior were discovered by people at large in their own communities," Radevic says. "But law enforcement agencies have also been rapid and effective. But it is a fact that we have not yet managed to catch all those who have been 'calling the shots' of this game. If a child in school writes a slogan, someone had to teach him. Who? They are the ones we have to find and get their tail under our foot."

The subject of our interview, then, is speaking about the influence of propaganda from Albania. Tirana broadcasts several hours of programming in Serbo-Croatian. As luck would have it, the reception is excellent for both radio and television.

"So, if a child listens to Enver Hoxha day after day instead of Djuranovic or Milatovic, and if he does this 365 days for 5 hours a day, then there is nothing more we can say about his upbringing."

By contrast with Tirana, reception of the broadcasting of Radio-TV Titograd is poor. Sometimes none at all. Radevic says:

"As a judge I often pronounced verdicts against people who refused to pay their subscription fee [for ownership of a radio or television set--translator's note] because of the poor reception. I remember two or three men who brought in their television sets, saying: 'So here you are, and you can give it to Television Titograd!' After all, in Plav it is all the same whether you have a television set or not."

"We Will Lynch You!"

Certainly, the secretary of the opstina committee would have been incomparably more pleased if we had come here to write about the significant achievements of the people of Plav in various fields in recent years, about the authentic exertions of business people here, about their conviction that the prosperity of this underdeveloped opstina would finally begin with the new paved road and new tourist facilities.

Secretary Radevic speaks about the construction of a new basket and sieve factory, about two new bus stations in Plav and Gusinje, about 60 km of new roads, about construction of a health care center and several health care stations, about two large luxury hotels, about how all the children in the opstina are attending school, about electrification of even the most out-of-the-way villages.... The secretary speaks about the true and large momentum in development of Plav Opstina as a whole.

(In the disconnected conversation that followed I learned an interesting datum: Plav is an opstina which has the highest number of doctors of science in Yugoslavia on a per capita basis! There are exactly 48 of them. Unfortunately, none of these learned persons lives in Plav.)

In the material of the opstina conference quoted above we read that at the educational center "segregation of the pupils on an ethnic basis has been felt for quite a long time now." The slogans "SR [Socialist Republic] Kosovo" and "Kosovo a Republic" have also appeared in that school. Sefer Kojic, teacher of Serbo-Croatian, who reported the writing of slogans, received a threatening letter from a group of pupils in Class III-5. "We are Enver Hoxha's army, we will lynch you!" Certain pupils and teachers in the school have criticized the curriculum taught in Albanian from nationalistic positions. Along with all that, there is the assessment of the opstina conference of the LC [League of Communists], "the teaching process and upbringing are on a rather low level, and the work of sociopolitical organizations and bodies of self-management is characterized by confusion and lack of political discipline."

Principal Hodzic's Dream

"Immediately after the events in Kosovo there was suspicion that something like that could happen here," says Sreten Prascevic, assistant principal of the school center. "We noticed that all at once a large number of strangers began to parade through the school. Slogans appeared, first in the classrooms and then in the corridors and on the walls. Equipment and furnishings received more damage than usually caused by the children. When we were in a hurry to discuss this in public, it was objected that we were carrying out an attack on our Albanian colleagues."

However, when Professor Sefer Kojic received a threatening letter, there was nothing else to do. The children were immediately given written work to do so that the authors of the threatening letter could be established by comparing handwriting. That is how the staff of the school, with the help of SUP

[Secretariat for Internal Affairs], discovered the seven "members of Enver Hoxha's army."

Teachers of Albanian nationality played a large part in detecting the nationalists. Mention is made of the names of Musak Djumbalja, geography teacher, and then Musa Gocaj, who teaches Marxism, and others. There were also teachers who expressed doubt that the authors of the letter were pupils in that school, suspecting that this was done by "someone else."

The faculty council adopted a decision expelling the "members of Enver Hoxha's army." However, there was a long wait before the decision was carried out. Why?

Sefki Hodzic, principal of the school, explains:

"It was not difficult for us to expel those children. We were waiting for the opinion of the comrades in the opstina committee and the republic. We felt that an agreement was indispensable on this matter. It was a delicate issue, one that strikes deep into political relations in our community. We did not hesitate. And indeed the comrades in the opstina committee advised us to wait and not to be hasty. Now they reproach us for not having reacted in time.

We reminded Principal Hodzic that the political figures in the opstina were not satisfied with discovery of the actual offenders, but were seeking the "stringpullers." They obviously felt that the pupils were only someone's puppets. Whose? Certain teachers?

Though he has many years' experience in politics behind him, Principal Hodzic confesses that to a large extent he lost his own peace of mind in the situation that came about. The mental strain was severe. He told us:

"Recently, our school's youth organization arranged a dance together with the young people in the town. There were many pupils and several of us teachers just in case. At the end of the dance we went through all the classrooms, made a detailed examination and locked up the school. I was the last to go home and go to bed. But I had just closed my eyes when what did I see but a slogan on the ceiling of a classroom! I jumped from the bed as though scalded, and I realized that I had dreamed that. That shows how this was weighing upon us."

Skurta Means "Short"

We learned about the bullying behavior of certain pupils of this school from Radojica Spalevic, another teacher. Individuals among them came to class armed to the teeth! They behaved haughtily and provocatively. Nor were these children, many were already of age.

One such bully threw school furniture from the fourth floor during the congress of the Albanian Workers Party. Desks and chairs were smashed to pieces! He got off more than light, since his daddy was a member of the opstina committee.

"When we voted to expel the pupils in the last party meeting, a majority of those present were 'for,'" Professor Spalevic says. "When the secretary asked whether anyone was voting 'against,' no one spoke up. Then I called for the question of whether there were any abstentions. I feel that a party member must make a clear commitment in matters like this. After the meeting one of the 'abstentions,' a colleague of mine, attacked me with abusive language and threatened me. Such as why was I constantly causing provocations, what business was it of mine who abstained, that I would regret this, and so on."

So far nine pupils have been expelled from the school center because of nationalistic behavior. A sad fact. So sad that Munira Kukaj, a woman teacher, cried for a long time after a meeting of the faculty council. Her colleagues calmed her down, they even brought her tea to restore her composure.

Professor Munira requested that the order expelling the students not be read during the first class hour. She proposed that it be read after the fifth class hour, since the children might "get excited and cause a ruckus." Nevertheless, the order was read during the first class hour, and the children, strange to say, did not become excited.

Skurta Uljaj, another woman teacher, was nevertheless criticized for having worn a red blouse and a black skirt. She saw nothing unusual in that. Some people, however, noted that Professor Skurta was at the very least unsuitably dressed, that is, that "her ensemble smacked of nationalistic romanticism."

We leave Plav. The radio in the car is turned on: "This is Radio Tirana." The announcer informs us that Enver Hoxha has written a new book--his 33d.

The book is called "The Anglo-American Danger to Albania"! The wartime and postwar struggles with the imperialists are described by "the principal protagonist of those historic events which were decisive to the destiny of Albania, by the founder and leader of the party and the Albanian people, by the distinguished military and political leader of the National Liberation Struggle, who with his revolutionary wisdom, resolution, farsightedness and boldness has always led the party and people as victors from every battle!"

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DEDIJER DISCUSSES TITO BIOGRAPHY IN WESTERN PRESS

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 1 Mar 82 p 3

[Report of interview with Vladimir Dedijs by PRESSE correspondent Christine von Kohl, datelined Ljubljana]

[Text] Snow covered the pines and cypresses at the time that we--a Dutch colleague and I--found Vlado Dedijs's refuge, located at the end of a world. On several occasions before we had passed by the almost impassable and unmarked road to Sipar and Villa Aishu.

Close by the beach of the northern Adriatic, some 30 km south of Koper, in a "400-year-old goat barn" (as the giant master of the house reports with obvious satisfaction), the Dedijses built themselves a home, sophisticated in its simplicity--open fireplaces, much wood and bright folk art from various parts of the country, enclosed by a wall that keeps the residents of the tourist bungalows in the vicinity from encroaching on them. Surrounded by shelves full of specialized books and sitting on a comfortable couch is the author of the book "New Notes to the Biography of Tito," who is currently reviled by the entire Yugoslav public.

"I am glad to be able to receive you for this interview here in Yugoslavia, where I am in the hands of my executors, because I think that what I am saying here now has more of a moral impact." My first question: "You are Tito's official biographer. You have made your contribution to the cult of personality around Tito, the partisans and the partisan war. Why do you now write of another truth?"

"There is only one truth. Thirty years ago I wrote a book based on the material then available. Since then I have collected new material, have done so for the entire 30 years, and this is what I have now published. I am proud to be the official biographer. My book is very subjective--because I love Tito, I am very close to him, and the criticism now swelling against the book in Yugoslavia is actually directed against Tito, against pluralism. My book is used as a pretext for attacking Tito's best concept."

Are Dedijs's critics defending the image they themselves created for the Yugoslav public? Dedijs: "I would not say so. Just look who does the criticizing. Who are these people? They include many followers of Alexander Rankovic (interior minister until overthrown in 1966), in other words followers of the "strong arm" policy, and not only in the centralist meaning. They cannot even be politically identified with Rankovic; rather are they admirers of his concept of a strong arm

policy designed to make Yugoslavia into a small Balkan police state. That is in total contradiction to Tito's image of Yugoslavia."

In answer to the question whether the book represents an attack on or defense of Djilas, Dedijs answered: "Many critics in Yugoslavia say that it is a pro-Djilas book; the Cetnik press, on the other hand, wrote abroad that it is anti-Djilas. It is neither for nor against him. At the time I let Tito know that I was going to write a book about his life. I am investigating everything that has been written about Tito, what others have written about him, including what Djilas wrote. I thus stand by the method which prescribes that the historian must question everything, especially his own 'truth.' In this book I have once again stressed that I continue to defend Djilas just as I did in 1954. It seems to me that this was the biggest task I tackled in all my life. And that is what I emphasized. My views of Djilas' actual attitudes, such as I express them--that is not 'writing history,' because all of us, Tito, Djilas, Rankovic, Bakaric, Kardelj, will one day be weighed in the scales of history, and it will be decided who was guilty and who was not --I personally do not fear the scales of history."

Is Dedijs to be considered a chronicler rather than a historian? The author maintains that it is impossible to write contemporary history. "First of all we do not have all the documents, secondly we are subjective; we were rather like a cult before and during the war, and that is why some time must pass. But we who are now dealing with the chronicle or history, we have an obligation to discuss the problems. Moreover, there is also a history born from the sentiments of the people, from the way the people look at these matters. We must note down everything, and that is the advantage of the chronicler. When I want to know who spied on Tito, I go to Bakaric and ask him, and he answers. Afterward, though, he begins to be afraid and denies everything. These are the positive and negative conditions confronting the contemporary historian."

Subsequently we talked in some detail about the harassment suffered by Dedijs: Documents are stolen, telephone lines cut, his archives are to be taken away from him. We also talked about the increasing change that occurred in the past 2 years in the climate of opinion about him and his work on the book.

"My work became a football. First it was used in the struggle who is to have or retain what chair. Secondly, hardly had it appeared, it was misused in the conflict between those who advocate greater pluralism and those who oppose Tito's policy.

Dedijs keeps returning to the question: Who is it, who wants to prevent Tito from being described as he really was? A "revolting peasant" with "revolutionary charisma," a man who ate from the same dish as his close collaborators? Who benefits from the de facto ban on the publication of the third and fourth volumes of Dedijs' biography of Tito? The third volume, already typeset, deals with "Tito's Struggle Against the Cominform" (that is against Soviet attempts to infiltrate the Yugoslav Communist Party); the title of the fourth volume is "Tito and the Nonaligned Nations."

Also banned from publication is a collection of various essays that Dedijs wrote for the papers in the course of many years. "Evidently I am entering another phase of 'lean years,' as in Rankovic's time, when I was prevented for 12 years from publishing a single book."

Dedijer, now 68, has plenty of plans for the coming years. A Swiss publishing house will issue his book on the topic "Spheres of Interests." Together with Sartre he hopes to be able in the near future to finish a work on "how the rulers destroyed the heretics." They have been working on this for 15 years. First of all, though, he will respond to an invitation from the Sorbonne and lecture there at the end of April on the "charisma of revolutionaries, from Napoleon to the present day." In May-June he is to take on the honorary presidency of a mass tribunal on the topic of Poland, which is to take place in Rome and Stockholm. In the summer he will organize a preparatory seminar in Sipar for a symposium planned by the Berlin Free University for next spring, and which is to deal with the problem "spheres of interests and international morality." Other likely speakers are Kreisky, Brandt and Palme.

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FRANK REMARKS BY WRITER KAPOR CAUSE UPROAR

Text of Controversial Interview

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 82 p 10

[Interview with Momo Kapor, writer, academic painter and journalist, by Svetozar Rakovic, in Belgrade: "The Strategy of a Lightweight Writer"; date not specified]

[Text] No one turned around when he entered the restaurant, as he approached me, accompanied by a young man whom he introduced to me simply as his friend Aca, I was already going over the data on him. His greeting was brief and conventional. He asked that we "get down to work" immediately. He also proposed that I remove the tape recorder from the table and hide it somewhere between my legs. The waiter knew him. He acknowledged that he felt at home in the restaurant, which is called "Under the Linden Tree." Kapor, academic painter, journalist and most of all writer.

[Question] In speaking of your generation one begins with the war, with socialist realism and the struggle for new objective space in art. How has your generation perceived those problematical years?

[Answer] Under normal circumstances, you know, kids are usually in awe of their elders. I had no such opportunity watching the guys in my street greeting the Germans as they entered Sarajevo and weeping as they bid them farewell and then cutting 5-pointed stars out of their wooden fences as they awaited the liberators. Within a month those same people had become protagonists of the new life, and I, of course, did not trust them. We in my generation became hungry little individuals who found our own bearings and gradually built up the integrity of a world of our own.

Wait ... let us order something.... Shall we have "Grasevina" ... give us a liter (turning to the waiter) and a bottle of soda water.

When the postwar drill began, when the little streetwise and anarchoid individualists were supposed to be turned into little Pioneers with red neckerchiefs after the Soviet model. When a heap of idiotic and stupid books appeared in support of this effort along the lines of "Snezna turdjava" [The Snow Fortress], "Timur i njegova ceta" [Timur and His Band], "Kavaljer crvene

zvezde" [Cavalier of the Red Star], "Cetiri uspeha Gulje Koroljeve" [Gulja Koroljeva's Four Successes], which made cretins out of the kids, we naturally resisted in our way. We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips about Flash Gordon, Tom Hunter.... We came into a situation where we had to write compositions about the warmth of Stalin's gaze, while secretly we were carrying on a child's intellectual guerrilla war, on a small scale but very effective. We were also getting part of our education at Kolarac People's University, listening to the St. Matthew's Passion in certain houses in Belgrade, in the film museum.... All of this was our resistance to the stupid bureaucratic output. Thus at one point we became too smart, too well educated and had a great deal of energy to do something in life. Ahead of us, however, there stood a semiliterate generation which had come out of schools for commissioned officers and held positions as theater directors, editors.... They had absolutely everything in their hands.

The So-Called Eastern Sin

[Question] Was that the beginning of a lasting conflict between the generations?

[Answer] Yes, but not the true conflict. They were totally uneducated, Sholokhov was their model.... Everything somehow in that style. When they broke with Stalin, they felt as though they had spit in their own father's face, that they had renounced him. It was like pangs of conscience or the so-called Eastern Sin. Room had to be found alongside such people, and they held in their hands the print shops, the editorial offices, the radio, the theaters.... A certain cleverness was therefore indispensable, and that later became one of the essential features of my generation. It had to find places for its own, to draw them through the eye of the needle, to wear camouflage so as not to be noticed. Just a moment ... (he took the bottle of wine with an agile movement from the waiter and filled the glasses). Will you have soda? Record away [snimi trc] ... (alluding to my tape recorder). That enough?

[Question] You were speaking about the problems of our postwar cultural ferment....

[Answer] You know what is interesting in that whole story? That precisely those same people I have just been telling you about are today themselves beginning to reveal the previously unknown steps they made in furthering their careers. It turns out that we were abused and manipulated, and that they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars--scandalous memoirs are appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about, since the view was that we lived in the most perfect of all worlds. Some of them stopped trains on the open track so that their spouses' morning cafe au lait would not shriek in the cup; they had special stores for the diplomatic corps, it has turned out that even during the war the leaders received different food from the soldiers, horrible things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of. Incidentally, if anyone at that time had been able to say what he thought about all that, that man would still be in prison to this very day. No one would ever come to the point of pardoning such a person. We have in general a kind of tradition of no one ever pardoning anyone else.

I fear that we have moved too much into the domain of political life.

Indeed without politics one can neither explain nor understand my generation's development.

[Question] Was your beginning as a writer related to the publishing of your first journalistic pieces in book form at the suggestion of Zlatko Crnković, editor at Znanje?

[Answer] That might have been the beginning as far as journalism in book form. However, before that I had already done about 20 radio plays and 10 plays for TV, which I guess is also literature. It is funny how newsmen feel a kind of traumatic paralysis about their pieces appearing in book form. After all, newsmen are trained to write only for today. But actually there are more talented and good writers among newsmen than among the writers themselves. A great number of writers are actually just lazy people who hide behind padded doors, making a big thing of their work and boasting how little they write. But writing little does not mean anything.

[Question] The critics have often called you a "lightweight writer," whose works are read one day and forgotten the next. It is surprising, however, that you yourself have announced that you are a lightweight writer.

[Answer] This is a matter of the most ordinary strategy. It dates from the period I was talking about. You see, when you get the image of a lightweight writer like I have, you get a chance under that cover to pass off certain things which you could not have published under ordinary circumstances. So I voluntarily let myself be treated as a lightweight writer. But believe me, when today I read some of my manuscripts published earlier, my hair stands on end, since now, for example, I would not be able to publish those same things. Practically every paragraph would get me in trouble. As for being lightweighted, remember that many people even today look on Mozart as a cheerful and lightweight composer, while actually there is no composer more morbid or gloomy than he is. The same is thought about someone like Chopin, and it took Pogorelec to get down to some lower level, some fifth or sixth level in his work which shows that Chopin was a very complicated and sick composer, similar to, say, E. A. Poe, or to Redon in painting. Any writer who is any good at all has several layers in his book.

[Question] You often say that your works are documents of our time. In your books you point to "ordinary things," which, according to your critics, "you raise to the level of literary facts." Is that not the influence of the time you spent in journalism?

[Answer] You know, I actually never have done anything intentional, and I have no esthetics [original reads "ethics"] like that at all. I am short of time and I am always in a kind of machine which is turning at a dizzying speed, and that is the way it has been since I was 16. I have not had the time to define my ars poetica. Let the estheticians and critics continue to concern themselves with that.

[Question] You have spoken about some conflict between generations in the domain of politics and culture in the period of socialist realism. Today a real problem in art related to the emergence of the new and opposition of the old is becoming topical once again. Josip Vidmar, say, is openly expressing a lack of confidence in young artists.

[Answer] Vidmar is a fine and congenial fellow, but like many in his generation, he is detached from the real world and constantly surrounded by chauffeurs, by secretaries.... He is a man, then, from some archaic time, someone who woke up all of a sudden in an altered world. He was amazed that no one was listening to what he said any longer, that people were yawning when he spoke, that they were walking out without excusing themselves.... Actually it is a question of profound changes and the mentality of our people, which Vidmar does not believe in.

When the Capillaries Pop

[Question] What do you think about the division into writers who are free and those who write "on order"?

[Answer] You know what, it seems to me that this could explain the frequent cases of heart attack among newsmen who get caught up in the merciless government machinery and who usually write the opposite from what they think. That is why the capillaries pop, people crack and die young.

[Question] When we speak about the free artist, we usually think of a man who is not overly precise and orderly. It seems that you belie that.

[Answer] Absolutely! I am the most punctual man in the world and arrive at every meeting 15 minutes ahead of time, though everyone else is usually late. Had I not been punctual in my life, I would hardly have been in this situation and in this place. Castaneda describes this superbly in his book "Journey to Ixtlan" when he says that the only true works are those in which one feels that the man who made them did so as if for his last time. Such works have a certain magic, ferocity and strength. Perhaps, let us say, this will be my last interview!

[Question] Most of your works have an air of nostalgia. How do you build up your literary world, how much of it is subject to identification?

[Answer] That is a matter of personal literary cuisine. Every individual is a mixture of several different personalities. You fell in love, he committed a theft, and yet a third committed a murder, and when I put you together I have a good character. The beginning writer's greatest difficulty lies in the fact that he does not realize that a brunette can also be a blond, and so on. As for nostalgia, I already feel nostalgia for the night before or, still better, for yesterday in the daytime, when my wife and I had a lunch of fish in the snow on the Sava.

[Question] Where in your opinion is it best for young people to break the notorious "ice" of their elders?

[Answer] There is only one invariable rule. A young man must be horribly strong and brave to write a truthful book about what he knows and not act the part of Ginsberg, Eliot or someone else. I guarantee that that book will take off and fly over all barriers without anyone's help.

[Question] Do you think that our writers would be unable to earn even the price of a cup of coffee in America?

[Answer] Writers have the best life in this society. They are taken care of without having to do even as much as their colleagues in the USSR or Bulgaria. Our writers are privileged. They are so spoiled they would have trouble doing anything in America where things are different. Over there they do not want to know whether someone is Leonardo or Lubarda, Kapor or Trnavac. The important thing is what you will do and how much you can do on your own.

[Question] In the usual discussion of art the question of the goals of the artist's commitment is usually asked....

[Answer] We are all running toward some bluebird. One man's goal may be the Nobel Prize, another the Academy of Sciences, still another the Association of Serbian Writers, from which there is a wholesale exodus every other year. My goal is to write a book which will not be longer than 80 pages and will be very popular. It would be a book in the style of "The Little Prince," "Catcher in the Rye," or "The Silences of the Sea." It seems to me that I have been close to writing such a book twice already. When I succeed in doing that, I will not write anything more except for the newspapers, since I like that profession. Incidentally, it is a good job, an easy life, you get around, it is comfortable.... What is most important, you do not have a boss, or as Matija Beckovic says: "Goethe is my boss."

Rage in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 82 p 4

[Account of statement made by Dragutin Kosovac, Energoinvest executive, in session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina: "It Was Not an Attack on SRBiH (Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina), But on the Revolution"]

[Text] "I did not intend to speak, but I have been aroused by an article which I saw and read today," were the words with which Dragutin Kosovac began his statement. "I think that it is clear in discussion of unwholesome things in the press that the reference is not solely to magazines, since the attack of individuals on Yugoslavia's constitutional system was not published in any popular review, but in an official organ of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. MLADOST is an organ of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, and it published the article I will speak about. It is not, then, just popular magazines. Second, I think in essence it has to do with the League of Communists, the problems and relations in the League of Communists, that it is a question of tendencies, both nationalistic and unitaristic, which have not been overcome and of liberalism in the League of Communists, and also, within

the framework of that liberalism, a question of playing the coquette with the opposition toward achievement of its goals. It is not a question of Bosnia and Hercegovina as such. Bosnia and Hercegovina are attacked because it is a question of the Bosnia-Hercegovina instituted by AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], which is a thorn in the eye of both Great Serb and Great Croat nationalism, because by its very existence it prevents the nationalists, Great Serb and Great Croat, from striking a bargain. It is a thorn in the eye of nationalism of various kinds and is therefore the target of those attacks, and it is also the policy which is being conducted in Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, beyond Bosnia it is also a question of attacks on our revolution as a whole. It begins with a tale about this or that, and then it arrives at the gist of the matter, which is an attack on the revolution.

"The reason I am saying this is a disgusting nationalistic and counterrevolutionary article which was published on 22 February 1982--even after, that is, the Federal Conference and after the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of Serbia. It was published in the newspaper MLADOST, an interview with Momo Kapor, in which he says: '... Under normal circumstances, you know, kids are usually in awe of their elders. I had no such opportunity watching the guys in my street greeting the Germans as they entered Sarajevo and weeping as they bid them farewell and then cutting 5-pointed stars out of their wooden fences as they awaited the liberators. Within a month those same people had become protagonists of the new life, and I, of course, did not trust them.' This is obviously a disgusting and poisonous nationalistic attack and a check should be made as to whether this Momo Kapor could indeed have remembered it. Probably he could not have remembered the Germans entering Sarajevo and leaving it. However, he goes on to say: 'When the postwar drill began, when the little streetwise and anarchoid individualists were supposed to be turned into little Pioneers with red neckerchiefs, when a heap of idiotic and stupid books appeared in support of this effort along the lines of "Snezna turdjava," "Timur i njegova ceta," "Kavaljer crvene zvezde," "Cetiri uspeha Gulje Koroljeve," which made cretins out of the kids, we naturally resisted in our way. We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips about Flash Gordon, Tom Hunter, and so on.' Which means that even as a child Momo Kapor sought and found continuity with the old royalist and capitalist Yugoslavia. And he says this today, on 22 February in the year of our Lord 1982, but he does not even stop there. He says that he came into conflict with the generation which was ahead of him, which was half-educated, untrained, etc.

"They were totally uneducated, Sholokhov was their model.... Everything somehow in that style. When they broke with Stalin, they felt as though they had spit in their own father's face, that they had renounced him. It was like pangs of conscience or the so-called Eastern Sin.'

"And then he says: 'You know what is interesting in that whole story? That precisely those same people I have just been telling you about are today themselves beginning to reveal the previously unknown steps they made in furthering their careers, it turns out that we were abused and manipulated, and that they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars--scandalous memoirs are

appearing in which they attack and accuse one another. Light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about, since the view was that we lived in the most perfect of all worlds. Some of them stopped trains on the open track so that their spouses' morning cafe au lait would not shriek in the cup. They had special stores for the diplomatic corps, it has turned out that even during the war the leaders received different food from the soldiers, horrible things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of. Incidentally, if anyone at that time had been able to say what he thought about all that, that man would still be in prison to this very day.'

"I think he really should be put in prison. And one reason I say that is that I think that sometimes our behavior and actions are not appropriate. I am afraid that sometimes we get things confused. An attack appeared recently on Bosnia in the newspaper DUGA. Signed 'A reader who is a pilot,' it is about abuses of executive aircraft, about how a Sarajevo professor flew to Geneva in a small plane to buy coffee, took his child with him, the child was fooling around the airplane, the pilot objected to this when he came back, and the pilot was fired because of that objection.

"And something else, that primitive Bosnia had a Lear jet; when the late Djema [Djemal Bijedic, former Yugoslav prime minister] went down in the Lear jet, Bosnia sold the spooked aircraft and bought another one. This was published in the newspaper DUGA.

"Our secretariat for information issued denials; but in my opinion that was not the way, perhaps the denials should have been made by some pilot: to say as a reader 'do not tell lies,' and the public prosecutor ought to see who that 'pilot' and the editor are and to prosecute them, since I think that we should not enter into discussion about such matters, things like this are clearly defined in the law, and they should be handled in accordance with the law. Respect for legality is an integral and essential part of democracy. But I say this because there is every indication that this is not an attack on Bosnia, but, through Bosnia, this is an attack on our revolution as a whole and on the revolution and cadres in both Serbia and Croatia as well as in the other republics. Such counterrevolutionaries are also served by Tempo [Svetozar Vukmanovic] and others, pursuing their own ambitions, who believe that they are furthering their own ambitions, but in actuality the counterrevolutionaries are leading them from the library to a performance, making fun of them, and through them carrying out an attack on our revolution.

"Enough about that.

"Second. We find ourselves in economic difficulties, and the economic difficulties are being used for an attack on our constitutional system, for an attack both on self-management and on the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. I will not enter into any further discussion of this, since I have spoken about this on one occasion both here in the Central Committee and also in public, and I do not want to repeat myself.

"However, let me say something about the methods of the attack and about our behavior. That is, the method is one of torcida [loud rabid rooting]. The

attack is begun in some political meeting, it is carried over into the press and is 'chewed over' endlessly, and then a situation is created in which even decent people take that assertion as though it were a fact and enter into discussion on that basis. For instance, we have created the picture that nothing is worth anything in society, nor in the economy, nor in relations, and we now believe this, and it even creeps into our own materials, 'there is no progress with self-management, there is no progress with pooling,' no progress here, no progress there--so, there is no progress at all. And actually things are not going as we would like. But do not forget that we are creating relations which are new in history. When we talk about joint revenues, about joint income, those are historically new relations on which a great deal of work needs to be done, they cannot be achieved overnight. And instead of our starting with an analysis, instead of analyzing what is involved here, how much is involved, instead of seeing what is constructive and of backing up those constructive aspects, we accept their 'nothing is any good' and take that as our point of departure in the discussion.

"A similar topic of a frontal attack is that of the exclusiveness of markets. But the problem of exclusiveness is not being discussed from the standpoint of an analysis as to whether a market is closed off or not, where it is closed off and why, but it is created by the method of torcida, the canard 'the republics have shut themselves off,' the republics are breaking down the unified Yugoslav market, and the role of the republic in the economy, its responsibility for its own development, is attacked on that basis, and that is an attack on Yugoslavia's constitutional system, in actuality an attack on the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. However, sometimes even certain of our good and well-intentioned comrades give way to 'torcida' and postulate this in discussions as though it were a fact. Or, now a new torcida. Using the payments-balance difficulties which we are having, the payments-balance position of the republics and provinces is now under attack with bursts of gunfire, is proscribed, and is pilloried. And that generally, on the broadest scale, but in actuality the attack is being made on the constitutional order, the position and responsibility of the republics for their development, since there can be no question of development if it is not related to relations with the rest of the world. There can be no responsibility of the republics for their own development if it does not also involve their responsibility for their own balance of payments and, through that balance of payments, for the balance of payments of Yugoslavia.

"I think that we dare not give in to the methods of torcida and accept attacks uncritically. We ought to be capable of reading the goals being striven for and of reacting in good time, of not buckling under to these attacks. In this specific case we should preserve the payments-balance positions as an important element in achieving the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this country and the constitutional position of the republics and provinces and as a condition for our emerging once and for all from the deficit in the balance of payments," Dragutin Kosovac said among other things.

Open Letter to Kapor

Sarajevo SVLJET in Serbo-Croatian No 1240, 8 Mar 82 p 17

[Open letter by Miro Jancic: "'We' and 'They'"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 March 1982

Dear Momo,

We have not seen each other nor kept up our friendship in recent years, and this letter will probably surprise you, especially since our generation has almost completely gotten out of the habit of correspondence and given it up. I seem to have lost your address, perhaps in fact you have moved, but that is not the reason why I am addressing you through the newspapers; I know that it is enough to address the envelope MOMO KAPOR, BELGRADE, for you to be found by any postman in our capital who is at all literate, which cannot fail to be a compliment even for the ordinary people of Sarajevo you come from, about whom you have written so beautifully in your many books and journalistic pieces, and to whom you are endeared in a way--let me inform you by the way that you are still among the writers most in demand in Sarajevo libraries and book-stores.

Let me not beat about the bush, the occasion for this letter and a letter of this kind is your interview which was published under the title "Strategy of a Lightweight Writer" in MLADOST, a periodical of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia. Since I am no longer a subscriber--both of us are now unfortunately in our "advanced youth"--I do not follow that Belgrade newspaper, but several friends of mine, some of whom are in fact our mutual friends, called my attention to its last issue, the one for February. Now, about that interview of yours (I assume that you have been interpreted fairly) which is being talked about in Sarajevo with so much disappointment that I took pains to find it and read it word for word. Another reason I decided to do this was that a few years ago I was in a position of defending you from some careless name-calling in connection with your drama "Vox humana" and I hope that those names you were called, which it seems some people need to be able to express themselves, have not done you much harm.

The chatter of a writer like you, who is well known among other things for his nonchalance and charm, ought not as a rule to raise any furor. This time, however, you have surprised your readers and those who know you by the pretentiousness of your indicting, trying and rendering judgment on entire historic eras and communities. One could swallow even that--we all have our moments of bitterness and indeed our right to our own viewpoint of events and people. It is confusing that you insist on speaking in the first person plural, though Boro Mihacevic, now deceased unfortunately, teacher in the First Boys High School, taught us that that was not always recommended.

From the standpoint and interest of our generation, dear Momo, perhaps it is not even so important who agrees with you and who does not, that is, who consents or does not consent to be included in that "we" of yours. In view of

the broader context of the times in which you were interviewed and in which you represented yourself as in fact an exceptionally committed writer, however, in spite of the best will in the world and a feeling of melancholy for those days spent together in childhood, youth and school, days that bind us together, it is difficult to shrug my shoulders and say "but that is just Momo's usual way"--perhaps that ought not to be done precisely for the sake of those generations now coming of age whom you are addressing as your potential public through the youth newspaper: they have the right to be informed about everything as objectively as possible, which is what you yourself advocate.

So allow me to recall, to present my own vision of those same things, even though it may seem like "Rashomon." Always and everywhere there have been and will be Quislings and no-good careerists--in Sarajevo, in Belgrade, and also in Zagreb--but I personally do not know a single one who--as you assert, once again in the plural--greeted the Germans on the Miljacka, wept when they departed, and then hastily cut in 5-pointed stars in his wooden fence (up to this point the possibility does exist), and then a month after the Liberation became a "protagonist of the new life" (the latter could not have occurred even theoretically, as you yourself testify a bit later--contradicting yourself when you say that "ahead of us there was a semiliterate generation which had come out of schools for commissioned officers," which "held absolutely everything in its hands"--who then was the protagonist?).

Dear Momo, you were always exceptional and talented, but I really do not recall that even in short pants, or even in graduating from the eighth grade, that you were so aware of this that you were wise to all the traps of the Stalinist system of indoctrination and socialist realism, and much less that you can say "we" again in this case. We all played hooky, but mostly to go to dances, we did get reprimands, but, say, for playing games (pucomet) on the teacher's desk, and if you suffered in school and boycotted it out of ideological motives--more power to you! It really is difficult to believe that even at the age of 13 you were convinced that "Snezna turdjava" and "Timur i njegova ceta" are books which "turn children into cretins"--you might have told us so back then. I do not even dare to think that you cried when you saw sentimental films like "Tahir and Zuhra," nor that you had a good laugh at a programmatic comedy like "The Girl Who Kept Pigs and the Shepherd," as I, I confess, did. Might it not have been said earlier that our entire generation--viewed, of course, from the present point of view--was naive and uninformed, that is, that in that difficult postwar period when we were in the first grades of secondary school we actually did not know about all the things that could be known and possessed? In my opinion, that is the essential difference between our world and the world of the present young generation, which has an obvious advantage. But I would not attribute the credit for that development of events either to enlightened individuals or to enlightened age groups, but to society as a whole, and we know quite well who has been leading it, in what way and in what direction.

You were very incautious in your statement so that younger age groups might conclude that Flash Gordon and Tom Hunter ("We picked up continuity with the time before the war in the comic strips," we carried on "secret intellectual guerrilla war") and then Kolarac and music ("listening to the St. Matthew's

Passion in certain houses in Belgrade") were above all responsible for the epiphanic moments in which even you reflected freely, that thanks to that we "became too smart and gifted," but we were blocked in advance by people who were "totally uneducated and took Sholokhov as their model." It really is difficult to agree with you, even allowing that you are speaking metaphorically. There were so many events of greater importance to our generation's development, including artistic works, that I do not feel the need to enumerate them here and now--allow me only to express my opinion that Sholokhov is not such a bad writer.

Now that I have dealt with the first person plural, though rather superficially (I would be happy if we could talk about this at length), allow me to move on to the third person plural, which you also use in a rather strange way. "They"! "They did not allow us to go forward," "we had to pass through the eye of the needle," "a certain craftiness was necessary, and that later in fact became one of the essential features of that generation...." I do not know whether you actually did that, but I do not allow anyone to tell me that I was pretending all that time. Indeed I would rather say of you yourself that you entered life through a wide open door, that both professionally and financially you climbed to the very top, as far as our dinar peaks go. Haven't you become what you wanted and could? What else would you want except, as you say, to write your best book? Is someone preventing you from doing that? Have you become bored with your nice life, and now you want to get yourself in trouble? Really, Momo, on this occasion you are not nearly as clear as you are otherwise brilliant in our precincts and in Gutenberg's and McLuhan's galaxy.

"Room had to be found alongside them," "we were abused and manipulated," and "they actually were deceivers, murderers and liars" (Momo, poor man, are you in your right mind?), and now "scandalous memoirs are appearing in which they attack and accuse one another," "light is getting into those dark areas which previously one did not dare speak about," they "even during the war received different food from the soldiers," "things are coming out that the entire nation had no idea of" and so on--and you spill out all this and other nonsense in a restaurant, but in front of a public address system, and at the end you also want "them" to pardon you for all that!

Just as I do not know whom you mean by "we," still less is it clear to me who "they" are. Is it those who waged war so that among other things they made it possible for you and me to have a peaceful life for these three or four decades, to develop and express ourselves, those who opened the doors of the entire world to us, or is the reference to others? Limiting myself to that restricted home town we have in common, I can think of many people whom you are hurting, but I do not see anyone who really fits your description. To be sure, there were and there are those who do not exactly cherish the freedom of other people, but that is more a question of personal pathology, which is less and less able to manifest itself in our system.

Dear Momo, in your brief interview you showered the public and above all the young and innocent with so much disinformation and unusual views of our generation and certain other older generations that it really is not clear what you

had in mind. Perhaps it would not be bad for you to make another statement and clear things up completely, on which occasion, were I in your place, I personally would not honor that "tradition of no one ever pardoning anyone else," which you also mention. Until then perhaps it is best for us to abide in the belief of that bottle of Grasevina and the soda water which the faithful newsman of MLADOST noted down, lucky for you. Which is why I am writing to you as a friend, and I send greetings and wish you all the best.

Miro Jancic

P.S. I hope you will not mind very much if I send a copy of this letter to SVIJET in Sarajevo as well as to MLADOST in Belgrade.

Kapor's Response in 'MLADOST'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
p 23

[Excerpt from review of controversy around Momo Kapor consisting of his response to Dragutin Kosovac]

[Text] Reacting to those articles [by Dragutin Kosovac and Miro Jancic] Momo Kapor has sent a letter to MLADOST (which MLADOST is publishing in its most recent issue) in which he says:

"Unfortunately, I have not been reading the newspapers in recent days, so that I could not have known that in the meantime Dragutin Kosovac, a member of the Central Committee in Bosnia-Hercegovina and chairman of the business board of Energoinvest, has acquired so much power that he can deprive Yugoslav writers of their freedom, wherever they may reside.

"That is, I have read the article in OSLOBODJENJE, 7 March 1982, in which Kosovac says: 'I think that he really should be put in prison.' That prevents me from any kind of response to any attack, since my arguments consist of ideas and words, and not violence and prison bars. After all, what good are open letters if the writers are to be shut up?

"In the meantime I am waiting for Dragutin Kosovac or his representatives to come for me."

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April 7, 1982